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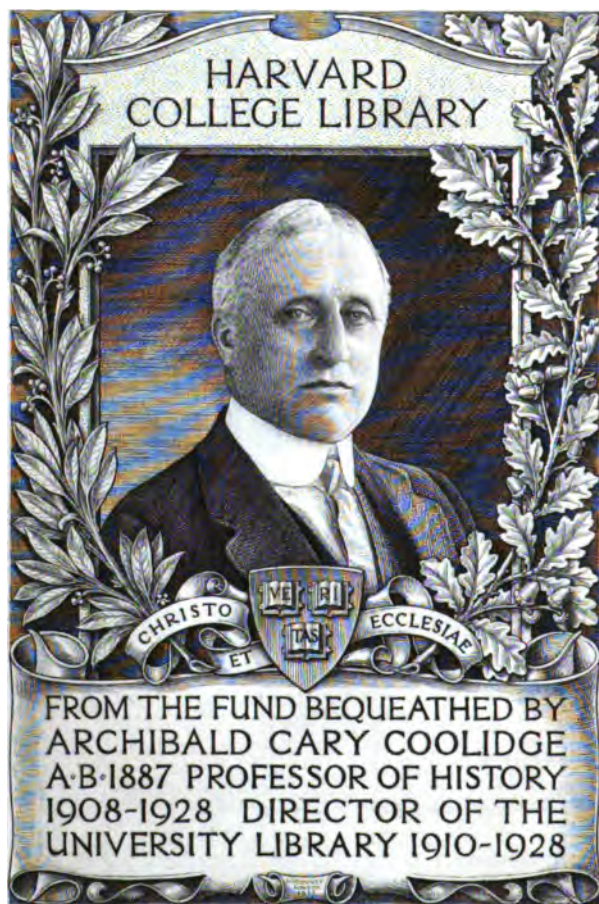
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# **BRITANNIC RESEARCHES.**



# BRITANNIC RESEARCHES.

OR

NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS

OF

# ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

BY

BEALE POSTE.

LONDON:

JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.

MDCCCLIII.

Br 1005.73



*Beelidge-fund*

## P R E F A C E.

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THE new sources of information which it is professed to bring forward in this Publication may be stated to be as follows :—1. Various passages in the Classics and ancient authors relating to Britain, before overlooked, misquoted, or wrongly translated or applied. 2. The work of Nennius on Ancient Britain, much elucidated and authenticated by the labours of modern commentators, as those of Messrs. Gunn and Stevenson ; and we may add, in an especial manner, by the edition published at Dublin in 1847, from valuable Irish manuscripts, with the Notes of the Rev. Dr. Todd and the Hon. Algernon Herbert. 3. Several important passages in the ancient historian Gildas, relating to Britain, now first duly interpreted and applied, principally by the elucidations afforded by the more copious text of the Irish edition of the kindred work of Nennius. 4. Various Welsh documents, which frequently afford a species of conviction to the mind, impossible to be set aside, that they refer to real facts. 5. The rapid discovery, of late years, of ancient British coins : nearly one hundred new types, in addition to those before known to Ruding, having come to light, many of them highly explanatory of the former ones. In short, we now possess quite a copious ancient British coinage, which, as has been

proved in the early history of every country, where monetary discoveries have come to the aid of the inquirer, cannot fail to be a valuable guide. It is in this case indeed an assistance somewhat important in its way, as the coins for the most part admit of such a classification, assigning them to various ancient British states, as will stand the test of the most rigid scrutiny. 6. The Angora Inscription, part of which relates to Britain. The Latin of this was published by Chishull, the Oriental traveller, in 1728, but was without sufficient authenticity, till the Greek duplicate was given to the world in the *Travels of W. J. Hamilton, Esq., M.P.*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1842. It now forms quite a new page in British history, as confirming the ancient British Chronicles in some important points, forming in fact a keystone of much of the superstructure of their narrative. To the above we may add, 7, various Inscriptions relating to Britain, and some other miscellaneous sources of information.

Regarding the arrangements observed in the present work. Book I is to show the political position of the principal British powers — before the Roman conquest; under the Roman domination; and as struggling ineffectually afterwards with a more energetic and persevering race, the Anglo-Saxons. Book II, on the Geography of ancient Britain, is intended to show in detail the territorial platform on which the events of British story took place, as also to make the reader more authentically acquainted with the ancient British states which possessed the island. Book III treats of the ancient British Histories of Gildas and Nennius and the ancient British Chronicles, in order to impart to the reader a popular and yet detailed and correct knowledge of these diffuse and compli-

cated subjects, which cannot be obtained in any works hitherto published. Nevertheless, the Chronicles are but rarely cited in the present publication, except otherwise supported; and, except in treating of the events of the fifth century, at which period collateral evidence is in a few instances not attainable, but when from the advanced date they may be regarded not so wholly imaginary as they undoubtedly are in many of their earlier parts. The remaining chapters of Book III are devoted to matters of much interest relating to ancient Britain: as the ancient stone monuments, &c. These last-named relics, it is clear, were once closely connected with the former Celtic state and history of the island, though almost passed by unnoticed by ancient British histories and chronicles, from their evident disinclination to treat of matters connected with the Pagan rites and ceremonies, in which their countrymen had anciently participated. Results and general views will be found to be here given, and not particular details or descriptions of objects of this class; and an accurate and comprehensive summary of this subject, has certainly hitherto been much required. With respect to Book IV, the two prior chapters, in conjunction with such parts of Book I as are relative to the same topic, are intended to show how the island passed into the hands of the Romans, no former accounts being sufficiently explanatory on this head; and the remaining chapters iii, iv, and v, of this Book are illustrative of the great importance which was attached at Rome to the conquests made in this island. Book V, placed last, not in respect to the importance of the subject, but as in order of time of primary and important events affecting this island, belonging to the period of which we more especially

treat, is restricted to some details, throwing additional light on the subject of the early spread of Christianity in these parts. No general history of the ancient British Church is intended, it being undesirable merely to reproduce what is already sufficiently known, and no new materials presenting themselves, except such as the reader will find connected with the particular topics discussed in this portion of the work.

The development of our subject in recent times is certainly somewhat remarkable. Camden was the person who first arranged, with great skill, the topics of the ancient history and geography of our island from such information as his times supplied, and gave them much of their due shape and consistency. The discoveries of the two subsequent centuries and a half afforded chiefly elucidations, and displaced comparatively little; but of late years the materials, which have been derived from the labours of modern investigators, or from other sources, are copious and striking, and often indeed so conclusive in the illustration they afford, as to render in many places a re-arrangement, or rather a re-construction of the subject indispensable. The new acquisitions are required to be taken into it, and many points to be exhibited in other lights than has been accustomed, in order to correspond with facts now ascertained, which it will accordingly be found has been done.

BYDEWS PLACE, NEAR MAIDSTONE,  
*March 21st, 1853.*



# CONTENTS.

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## BOOK I.

### BRITAIN TRIPARTITE.

	PAGE
The three dominant States of ancient Britain - - -	1—86

## BOOK II.

### BRITAIN, ITS GEOGRAPHY.

CHAP. I. Examinations, general and detailed, of ancient British, and Roman-British geography - - -	87—152
CHAP. II. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED—the Segontiaci -	153—164

## BOOK III.

### HISTORIES, CHRONICLES, STONE MONUMENTS, ETC.

CHAP. I. Ancient British Histories and Chronicles - -	165—251
CHAP. II. What was Druidism? and the ancient stone monu- ments of Britain - - -	252—278
CHAP. III. Observations on various points connected with the foregoing subjects - - -	279—293
CHAP. IV. Titular names of the ancient Britons, and illustra- tion of their history therefrom - - -	294—302

## BOOK IV.

## BRITAIN SUBJUGATED.

	PAGE
CHAP. I. Conquest of Cunobeline's former dominions by the Romans - - - - -	303—324
CHAP. II. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED—Conquest of the Belgæ and Dumnonii. Etc. - - - - -	325—344
CHAP. III. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED—The Barberini Inscription at Rome commemorating the conquest. Etc. - - -	345—355
CHAP. IV. THE SUBJECT CONTINUED—The speech of Carac- tacus before the Roman emperor, as illustrating British affairs of that period - - - - -	356—359
CHAP. V. The Emperor Claudius for Britain - - - - -	360—384

## BOOK V.

## CHRISTIANITY IN ANCIENT BRITAIN.

The Chichester Inscription: and who were the first Christians in Britain? - - - - -	385—412
--	---------

## ADDENDA.

MISCELLANEA - - - - -	413—418
-----	
INDEX - - - - -	419

# ILLUSTRATIONS.

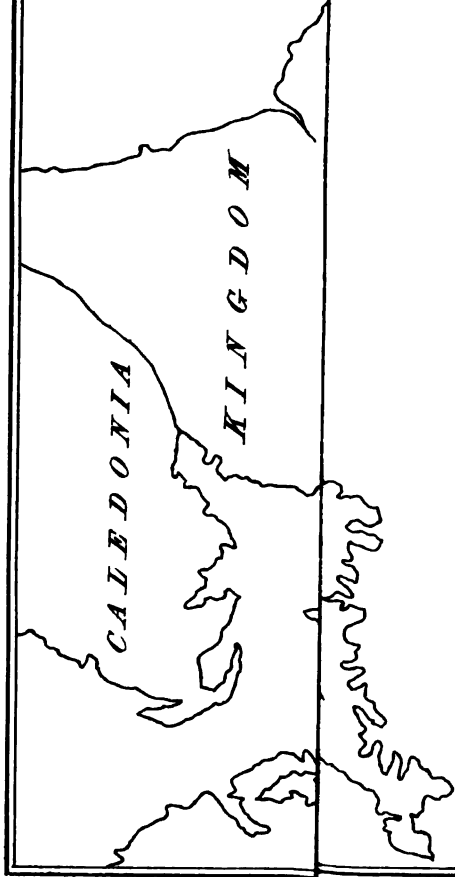
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	PAGE
MAP OF BRITAIN - - - - -	<i>to face</i> 1
THE RUDGE CUP - - - - -	107
PLAN OF ROMAN ROADS - - - - -	<i>to face</i> 153
PLAN OF SILCHESTER - - - - -	154





**BRITAIN**  
as at the Era  
*of*  
**CUNOBELINE.**



# NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS OF ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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## BOOK I.

### BRITAIN TRIPARTITE.

THE THREE DOMINANT POWERS IN BRITAIN AT THE TIME OF THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR, AND THAT OF CLAUDIUS.—THE INFLUENCE CONSEQUENTLY RESULTING ON THE STATIONS OF THE ROMAN FORCES DURING THEIR OCCUPATION, PARTICULARLY IN THE LATTER PART OF IT.—HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES REFERRING TO THESE PRINCIPAL BRITISH STATES AFTER THE ROMANS LEFT; ETC.

THE observations which will be made on the topics here proposed will be based on the best historical, classical, or other authorities, which may be suggested by the case. The subject admits of a continuous series of proofs being brought forward; and in the result of the inquiries it will be seen that the facts which we seek are arrived at with the admission of so little doubtful or apocryphal evidence, that the only surprise is, that writers have not proclaimed them before; since on making research they do not appear to lie so deep beneath the surface.

The reader must, in the first instance, understand that it is now submitted that the ancient Britons had, by their mutual wars and contests, so broken down the independence of the smaller states, and so far produced a balance of power in the island, that as early as a hundred years before Christ, Britain, south of Caledonia, had become divided into three principal kingdoms, the Trinobantes, Iceni, and Brigantes. We may accordingly proceed to specify the situation of these states, and their boundaries.

The state which, from the superior lustre in history of their sovereign, Cunobeline, we may place first, is that of the Trinobantes. This state comprised *ipso facto* the southern parts of the kingdom, bounded to the north by the somewhat

irregular line of Suffolk, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Montgomeryshire, &c. Of the two others: the Iceni had a breadth of territory clear across the kingdom, from Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, on the east coast, to North Wales on the west; bounded on the north by the Mersey and Humber: and the Brigantes had the remaining portions, extending also across the kingdom, and bounded on the north by Caledonia.

As to the first particular, our proof will be concise but sufficiently stringent. Beginning from the eastern part of the tract the names of the capitals of the Trinobantes and Cassii, Camulodunum and Verulamium occur very frequently on the coins of Cunobeline, as also does Segontium, the capital of the state of the Segontiaci. Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, and other authorities, may be cited for these assertions. As to the state of the Dobuni, next to the westward, Dion Cassius, in his sixtieth book, acquaints us that they were in subjection to the Catieuchlani, who, it appears by Ptolemy, were the same nation as the Cassii. Further to the west the Silures or South Welch appear, from Tacitus (*Annals*, xii, 33,) to have had Caractacus for their ruler, who, we are informed by Dion Cassius, was son of Cunobeline, deceased at that time. Thus, all the British states, in this parallel through the island, appear to have had one and the same ruler. There is an exception however to the state of the Atrebatas, respecting which we are almost entirely without proof; but this was quite a minor state, comprising no more than the present county of Berkshire, and as it lay surrounded by the other dominions of Cunobeline, the question of its being under his sway can hardly be doubtful.

These British states, six in number, formed a complete belt across ancient Britain, at about the same parallel of latitude as South Wales. The accompanying map may be referred to respecting them, as also for the positions of various British states which will subsequently be mentioned.

Two large states are believed to have comprised the whole of Britain south of those just mentioned. These were the states of the Dumnonii and Belgæ. The Dumnonii appear, from Ptolemy, to have held Cornwall, Devonshire, and parts of Somerset; and the Belgæ, all to the east, with, as is commonly believed, the Regni, *i. e.* the inhabitants of Surrey and Sussex in subjection to them, as also the Cantii, or inha-



bitants of Kent. Julius Cæsar, in his *Commentaries*, in the part in which he treats of the wars in Gaul (v, 11), seems indiscriminately to call all these states of the British Belgæ, "the Maritime States," because apparently they occupied the sea-coasts most known to him; or because they did not hold the central parts of the island.

Now the proof is not so clear regarding the Dumnonii and Belgæ, as to show that they were under more than a modified subjection to the Trinobantine-Cassian sway, that is, to Cunobeline's authority. Julius Cæsar informs us, that in his time, which was about half a century before, Cassivelaunus, who was Cunobeline's predecessor, was waging war with the Belgæ. (*Gaulish Wars*, v, 11.) We may regard this as an indication that the elements of their subjection were even then in activity, and may form our conclusions that as time progressed they both fell under the thralldom of their more powerful neighbour. This result to which we arrive is certainly not mere surmise; we have the following evidences of it, though it must be admitted they are somewhat imperfect. First, as to the Dumnonii. (1.) There is a coin extant attributed to Adminius, the son of Cunobeline, mentioned by Suetonius (*Caligula*, 44) and by Orosius, (vii, 5). This is inscribed on the obverse AMMINVS, and on the reverse DVN; and this last portion of the legend is interpreted by the Marquis de Lagoy, a foreign nobleman, eminent for his numismatical and literary attainments, to apply to our Dumnonii, as some copies of Ptolemy and Ravennas favour the orthography Dunmonii and not Dumnonii. (See Gale's *Itinerary of Antoninus*, 4to, 1709, pp. 124, 138, and 142.) For further particulars respecting this coin the reader is referred to the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the ancient Britons*, 8vo, 1852. pp. 51, 85, and 194. (2.) The constant mention by the Chronicles of the sons of the British kings being dukes of Cornwall, as in *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, iii, 20, iv, 3; *Tysilio*, Roberts's edition, 4to, 1811, pp. 73, 81; and *Ponticus Virunnius*, Powell's edition, 12mo, 1585, pp. 18, 36. And (3.) the Dumnonii appear in early times to have had a coinage (see *the Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 139), and in later times, *i. e.* those of Cunobeline, to have had none. In regard to the Belgæ, arguments fail us, except that if it be a fact that Cunobeline and his father maintained a fleet at sea, as appears probable from a passage in Propertius, in his *Elegies*, ii, 20, and from another in Xiphilinus, in his

*Life of Nero*, the presumption is that to do so they must have had the command of the southern ports, *i. e.* those of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, in order to have havens to resort to in refuge from the storm, or to make casual repairs and refitments. The passages in the two ancient authors are curious, and may be given in a note below.\*

But this subjection of the Belgæ and Dumnonii, it must be repeated, we must preferably suppose was quite a modified subjection; one which left them free to live under their own laws and under their own princes: so that Vespasian, warring against these two provinces and subduing them, may be said by Suetonius (*Vespasian*, 4,) to have conquered two nations.

Thus our case seems substantiated as to the first of the leading powers of ancient Britain. As to the second, the kingdom of the Icenii, the credit is due to the antiquary Baxter, for having first suggested, in his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, (8vo, 1733, p. 135,) that their territories extended quite across the island, but his following out his various particulars and details, is too full of error to be unreservedly adopted, especially his interpretations of the names of various states composing the Icenian dominions. To enumerate therefore their territories more correctly than this author has done, those we call the Icenii Magni, regarding that people as the British state mentioned by Cæsar as the Cenimagni, (*Gaulish Wars*, v, 21,) were most to the east, occupied Norfolk and Suffolk, and with their capital Sitomagus, the modern Thetford, seem to have constituted the original territories of the nation. To these adjoined the Icenii Coritani, mentioned by Ptolemy and Ravennas, though without their prefix, which is now pretty generally given them by modern

\* The passage in Propertius is as follows:—

“Seu pedibus Parthos sequimur, seu classe Britannos.”

*I. e.* “Whether we pursue the Parthians by land, or the Britons with our fleet.”—Here the conclusion seems inevitable, that if the Romans had a fleet in which they pursued, the Britons must have had a fleet in which they fled.

The passage in Xiphilinus is—Ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων αἰτιοί—γεγόναμεν—οἵτινες οὐ πρόβρωθεν σφίσιν ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ τῷ Καλιγῳλα φοβερόν τὸ πειράσαι τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιήσαμεν.—*I. e.* “We ourselves have been the cause of all these evils, who, when they the Romans were yet afar off, did not make the navigation hither too formidable to be attempted, as we did to Augustus and to Caius called Caligula.”—Here it seems to follow that though the Britons might have made the landing in their island difficult by their land forces, yet that to make the navigation difficult they must have had a fleet.

writers, from a conviction that they formed part of the Iceni state. The Coritani indeed were certainly not less Iceni than the original stock, their name merely implying that they were inhabitants of a low-land and fenny district. The territories usually assigned to them are Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, and Northamptonshire. The inhabitants of the tract of country lying between the two primary divisions of the Iceni, whose boundaries, it should be observed, only adjoined for a few miles, were called Girvii, which name we find in Bede, iii, 20, and iv. 19. They are considered to have inhabited Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, and their name is usually interpreted as only some local description of the inhabitants, applied to them from their habits, as subsisting chiefly by their rearing and tending cattle, or from their being bondsmen. Baxter says, in his Glossary (p. 129), that their name, in the ancient British language, signifies "pecorum actores," i.e. cattle-tenders; and from this humble appellation there seems great reason to suppose that they were in subjection to the Iceni, being situated between the two principal divisions of them. Geographically we may style them "Iceni Girvii." Westward of the Coritani were the Cangi, inhabitants of Derbyshire and Staffordshire. These were ostensibly dependents of the Iceni, the war with the Romans having commenced on their account, and immediately after the victory over them, the Roman army marched into and devastated their country (Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 31). We might therefore probably add a prefix to them with propriety, as we have done before, in the instance of the Girvii, and call them the "Iceni Cangi." Westward of these come the Cornavii, comprising the modern county of Cheshire to the north, and Shropshire to the south. Evidence afforded by coins seems to give the country of the Cornavii to the sway of Cunobeline, there being several types of the ancient British series, inscribed TASCIOV RICON (see the *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 35 and 193), and TASCI RICONI (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, fol. 1848, pl. i, 4), and variations of the foregoing, by which Uriconium or Wroxeter, a principal city of the Cornavii, is believed to be designated in connection with the word *tascio* so usually associated with the name of Cunobeline. However, quitting for a moment this point, which involves a considerable difficulty, we may observe that the Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, were the next

westward to the Cornavii. These are to be accounted Iceni; the name Ordovices seeming to be the same as Ard-Iccii, *i. e.* Ard-Iceni, which would imply High-Iceni, or Mountaineers of the Iceni; but to this point we may refer again immediately.

Now it is easy to see that, admitting the Iceni held this western territory of North Wales, together with their other dominions in the more eastern parts of the island, as Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Staffordshire, &c., that the territory of the Cornavii, if held by a sovereign of the Trinobantes, must absolutely and entirely have intercepted the communication between the two parts of the Icenian kingdom. This will be made very evident by the map; and to solve this difficulty, it might possibly be suggested, that Cunobeline may have held merely the southern parts of the territory of the Cornavii: namely, that south of the Severn, with Uriconium on its northern bank, which would have thus left a communication to the Iceni with their Welch territories. Another solution may be that Cunobeline might have had only temporary possession of the country of the Cornavii, and that the communication at other times was uninterrupted.

We have thus gone through the territories of the Iceni, from east to west, and may briefly recapitulate the proof of their having extended across the island. The principal argument is certainly the assertion of Tacitus, that the Iceni, meaning those of the east coast, went to war with the Romans for a cause which could only have affected the Cangi of the interior, neighbours to the Coritani. This we regard as an indication of their having been under one rule; and the more so as we may gather from the account in Tacitus of the war with the Brigantes, that there was no league among the Britons. As to the Ordovices or inhabitants of North Wales, we have only referred to the obvious etymology of their name in proof of their belonging to the Iceni; but it may be added, that when the Romans are at war with the Iceni, they make an irruption into their territory (Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 32); and again, when the Iceni were at peace with the invaders, they are spoken of as being so too, till they recommenced hostilities in the cause of Caractacus (*Annals*, xii, 33).

Further we may remark, while on the subject of the Iceni,

that there is much confirmation from Tacitus, in supposing that they consisted of numerous states, since, when treating of the conclusion of the Icenian war, ten years afterwards, he mentions the “gentes præferoces,” i.e. the ferocious nations engaged in it, applying especially to them (*Annals*, xiv, 38).

As to the third point, it seems no less undoubted, that the Brigantes had the government supreme of the rest of Britain, between the rivers Mersey and Humber and Caledonia, and immediately north of the territories of the Icenii. Respecting this state, ancient authors seem to speak of it as very powerful. They were not reduced without four wars (see Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 32, 40; *Histories*, iii, 45; and *Agricola*, 17, 20,) and rebelled again in the reign of Antoninus (*Pausanias*, viii, 43). Ptolemy, in his Geography, assigns them a territory extending from sea to sea, and, as is evidently implied, gives them the same extent north and south as we have before given. It is true, that according to him, it appears that a tribe named the Parisii had a separate district on the east coast, within these limits; it is true also that Ravennas, another ancient geographer, likewise mentions a tribe inhabiting here, the Siston-tiaci, usually placed on the west coast; but this is explained, as Pausanias, in the above passage from his works, expressly says, that Antoninus Pius had much reduced the dominions of the Brigantes. His words are as follows (translation): “He, Antoninus, deprived the Brigantes, in Britain, of much of their territories, because they had begun to make inroads in arms upon the district of Genounia, which was in subjection to the Romans.” The above arguments seem pretty clear that the Brigantes formed the third powerful state of Britain; and it might have been expected that such a state existed in this quarter, in order to have been able to make a stand against their formidable and restless neighbours the Caledonians. Having thus submitted the above views, we may proceed to show how the existence of the three principal nations, as here supposed, influenced practically the course of Roman events.

The power of the three leading nations in Britain, probably began to be pretty well established at least a century before Christ. Beli Mawr, or Beli, or Belinus the Great, Cunobeline’s great-grandfather, could hardly have obtained that name without having gained some considerable conquests; and it will be admitted, that the consolidating of several of

the southern states under one dominion, would have tended to form a consolidation of states immediately to the north, to protect their independency against a powerful southern neighbour. Indeed were we to carry back the formation of the three kingdoms to two centuries before Christ, we probably might not assign too early a date. We certainly do not find traces in the events attendant on Cæsar's two invasions, of the union of three powerful kingdoms against the invader; but this is not evidence of their non-existence at that time, as the dominions of the Brigantes lay extremely remote. In the reign of Augustus there is some mention more to the purpose, which we may endeavour briefly to set forth.

We find, by the 49th and 53d books of Dion Cassius, that there were considerable dissensions between the Romans and Britons, in the reign of this emperor, for about twenty-one years, between the year 34 B. C., and, as nearly as may be judged, the year 13 B. C. In consequence of these misunderstandings, Augustus had serious intentions of invading Britain, to which Horace makes allusion in four of his Odes, *i. e.* i, 35; iii, 5; iv, 14; and v, 7. We are not informed of the precise causes of the disputes; but there is no doubt whatever that they were based in the prevailing desire of the Romans to bring Britain more perfectly into subjection. Augustus at last seems to have yielded to dictates of prudence. Britain was not invaded; but a treaty made, as we are informed by Strabo, in his fourth book, from whom we collect that the tribute paid by the Britons, and originally imposed by Julius Cæsar, was at that time abandoned, and port dues levied instead, in the Roman ports in Gaul, on all goods imported into or exported from Britain.

The arrangement, according to his account, seems to have given satisfaction; for he tells us that almost all the island was brought into intercourse with Rome, and that various British Princes visited the imperial city, and offered presents in the capitol. In all this it is very true there is no mention of the three leading states of Britain; but in a long inscription, reciting his public acts, which Augustus directed by his will to be set up, he notes his asserting his supremacy over the Britons, and specifies that three British princes submitted to him, Dumno, Bellaunus, and Tim(an), which suits sufficiently well our purpose, there being great reason to suppose that the three named were respectively the rulers of the

Brigantes, the Iceni, and the Trinobantes. Duplicates of the inscription are extant in the ruins of a temple at Angora, in Asia Minor. Of these a Latin copy was made by Tournefort, in 1701, and published by Chishull, in his *Antiquitates Asiaticæ* (folio, 1728); and a Greek copy has recently been brought to England, by W. J. Hamilton, Esq., and published in his *Travels in Asia Minor*, 8vo, 1842. The inscription has been particularly treated of in another work of the author's, the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 63-75 and pp. 196-198; therefore no more will be required than to give the restored lines relating to Britain in the note below.\*

When the Romans invaded Britain in the time of Claudius, A. D. 43, there had been recently factions, and discontents in Cunobeline's dominions; and Adminius, one of the sons of the British king, had fled to Caligula, then in Belgium (Suetonius, *Caligula*, 44, and *Orosius*, vii, 5), while at the time the invasion actually took place, an insurrection or war of the Belgæ against Cunobeline's sons, then in possession of the dominions of their late father, had only just terminated, and Bericus or Vericus, the leader of the defeated party, had fled to the Roman emperor, and had excited him to undertake an expedition against the island (see *Dion Cassius*, lx, 30). We name the Belgæ in this instance, as the people in question who had made the war or insurrection, because modern numismatic discoveries have ascertained the point, that it was this British

\* *The Latin copy.*

Ad me supplices confuge(runt) reges Parthorum Tirida(tes et Phrates) regis Phratís (filius) Medorum(que) Arta(vasdes quem vero præfeceram. Recto)res Britann(or)um Dumno Bella(unos) et Tim(an et insimul Sicambri)orum Maelo Mar(c)omanorum Suebo f(idem petiverunt meam. Ad me rex) Parthorum, etc.

*The Greek copy.*

Προς εμε ικεται κατεφυγον βασιλεις, Παρθων μεν Τειριδατης, και μετεπειτα Φραατης βασιλευς Φρα(του υιος Μηδωνδ)ε Αρτα(βαζης ον εστ)ησα δ(η. Αρ)χων (των Βρεταν)ων Δομ(νων) Β(ε)λλαυνος (τε) και Τι(μαν. Σικαμ)βρων (Μ)αιλων Μαρκο(μαννων δε α)μα (Σουηβων προσεχωρησαν. Προ)ς εμε βασιλευς, etc.

*Translation of the Greek.*

Kings fled suppliant to me, seeking my protection. Of the Parthians Tiridates, and afterwards Phrates, son of king Phrates; and of the Medians Artabazes, whom I had appointed king. Of the rulers of the Britons, Dumno, Bellaunos, and Timan; of the Sicambri, Mailo; and at the same time with him Suebo, of the Marcomanni, submitted themselves to me, etc.

state of which Bericus or Vericus was king. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 183-95). Every research that can be made as to the circumstances of this conjuncture, leads to one and the same conclusion, that the Romans at the time of their landing were only at war with the possessors of Cunobeline's late dominions, and that the treaty, made by Augustus about half a century before, referred to by Strabo, was considered still to subsist with respect to the other powers. It would undoubtedly have been good policy on the part of the Britons to have set aside the treaty in the altered circumstances of the case ; but this rested with the Iceni, whose territories laid between the Trinobantine-Cassian dominions, late Cunobeline's, and those of the Brigantes. The Iceni appear to have relied on their being a distinct kingdom from the Trinobantes and their dependencies, for so we understand Tacitus (*Annals*, xii, 31), and seem to have thought it the least risk to remain at peace, and to forbear joining in arms the southern British states. This in the end was a fatal security : but such appears to have been the policy of the Icenian nation with Prasutagus their king ; who possibly was influenced besides by the inactivity of old age, and habits for a length of time of collecting wealth. (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 31.) He was perhaps likewise in doubt whether the Romans would ultimately remain in the island ; an impression it seems entertained among the Britons (*Dion Cassius*, lx). The campaigns, however, went on against the Trinobantine-Cassian kingdom, and in two years the principal part of it was subdued, as appears from Tacitus and Dion Cassius. But now a new feature was presented ; the Belgæ, who had been the means of drawing the Roman forces into the island, themselves in conjunction with the Dumnonii became combatants. The causes of the war are not at all known, but a supposition may be formed either that the Belgæ had not in the first instance participated in the sentiments of their ruler Vericus, or that a change of feeling had supervened. Thus the discomfited Trinobantine chiefs and their adherents might have found considerable support in their state as also in that of the Dumnonii, and have been able to continue the war. Forbearing however speculation, the Britons in this quarter, when the war was once begun, seem to have fought with the greatest desperation : and though Vespasian was sent against them with the second legion, it was not till the year 46, and fighting many battles and taking many towns, that



these secondary hostilities were concluded. (Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 4, and Eutropius, vii, 19.)

After this war there seems to have been no opponent in arms against the Romans, except the illustrious British hero Caractacus, whose proceedings are so interestingly described by Tacitus. Unfortunately, from the loss of several books of the *Annals* of this author, his account of him does not begin till the year 49, when we find him in the country of the Silures, vigorously defending this westernmost remnant of the Trinobantine kingdom against the invaders. This same year 49, it is to be understood, that the Romans had conceded the territory of the Dobuni to a native prince, as incursions of the Silures on these their allies are mentioned (*Annals*, xii, 31). Ostorius, the new Roman commander in Britain, arrived about November in that year. In the winter and in the beginning of the ensuing year, 50, he appears to have constructed his line of forts along the lines of the Severn and Warwickshire Avon (*Annals*, xii, 31); of which the arrangement seems to have been that the camps along the Severn were a connected chain of defences in advance, as were those along the Avon a similar series to support them. From these fortifications a rupture ensued with the Iceni, and, as far as we can judge, it seems to have occurred in this way: some of the northernmost of the advanced camps along the Severn must have been formed in Staffordshire or on the confines, and in this quarter, *i. e.* in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, are placed the territories of the Cangi, who are considered to have been under Icenian sway. It may easily be imagined that infringement of territory or some inimicable proceedings may have taken place on the part of the garrisons, as the Iceni, who had not been in the first instance easily provoked, seem now to have collected together with indignation to prepare for war. As the impulse was sudden which brought the Iceni and some of the neighbouring states together in arms, so the war was as suddenly terminated by one severe battle (*Annals*, xii, 31); for the context seems to show that peace speedily ensued after the engagement, and that Prasutagus again endeavoured to conciliate the Romans (*Annals*, xiv, 31). It is evident from Tacitus, that the Iceni from this time began to sink in estimation in the eyes of the Romans, and to be regarded as more humble allies than before, if indeed they were regarded as allies at all, for a few years afterwards we find them reduced into the form of

a province, when the war of Boadicea and its calamitous consequences ensued. (*Annals*, xiv, 31.)

Two of the three dominant nations of Britain had thus been brought into collision with the Romans: the remaining one, the Brigantes, was so in the year 50. This was three years before the second war of the Brigantes, which took place respecting Venusius and Vellocatus, and twenty-one years before the third which Cerealis, the Roman general, carried on against them. The occurrence of the first hostilities is merely noticed thus by Tacitus (*Annals*, xii, 32), that there having been disturbances among them, the Romans interfered. Why the Romans should have interfered is not mentioned, or what was the nature of the disturbances: however the result is specifically told that after an engagement in which they sustained some loss, those that had taken up arms laid them down again, and that peace was renewed. Thus the Romans embroiled only in the first instance in the year 43, with the possessors of Cunobeline's dominions, by the year 50 had commenced hostilities with the two other leading states of Britain, with whom they were before on friendly terms and under treaties. It may here be added, that Caractacus was conquered in the ensuing year 51, not however before he had removed the seat of war into the country of the Ordovices, the dependents of the Iceni, who since the hostilities with the rest of their countrymen, do not appear to have considered themselves bound to keep terms with the Romans.

We will now see the arrangements the Romans made in these two years, 50 and 51. These appear to have been as follows. (1) The colony of Camulodunum founded. (2) The states of the Belgæ, Regni, and probably Cantii conceded as a principality to a person named Cogidubnus (Tacitus, *Agricola*, 14). And (3) as we hear nothing of the Dumnonii in the contests with the Romans there is some degree of probability that they at this time bestowed the principality of the Dumnonii on another dependent,\* thus commencing the line of Dumnonian kings, so important afterwards, and leaving their

\* A chronicle or history, entitled *La Généalogie des Princes de Domnonée*, is quoted by Lebault, a French historian, and was extant a little more than a century since. In all probability this was nothing more than a chronicle of the line of British kings of Cornish descent, beginning with Bran ap Llyr, in the third century. Of which line were Aurelius Ambrosius, Uther Pendragon, and others; and, going down to Constantine the Third, in the

legions free : part to be kept in reserve, the remainder to act northward and westward ; for the Ordovices were not entirely subdued till A. D. 78, when Agricola conquered them soon after his arrival (*Agricola*, 18), nor the Silures till about A. D. 75, when they were subdued by Julius Frontinus, who had succeeded Cerealis as the Roman commander-in-chief in Britain.

The ulterior fortunes of the Iceni were somewhat remarkable. This nation, which had held the destinies of the island in their hands on the first invasion of the Romans, who had it in their power to make Britain another Parthia to them, were doomed to moulder away in a helpless and degraded condition. We have seen that, notwithstanding the temporizing policy of their king, some sudden exasperation produced a collision with the Romans, of which a very complete defeat was the consequence, and that on peace being resumed, so great was their loss of national credit that their dependants, the Ordovices, soon afterwards made war with the invaders on their own account, as has been before noted, and these never received any assistance from the Iceni Magni or other Icenians that we can ascertain. To sink the Iceni still lower, in process of time they fell into the jaws of the Roman usurers, one of whom was no less a person than the philosopher Seneca, who had the large sum of 10,000,000 sesterces, or about £81,000, placed out at interest in Britain, a fact communicated by Xiphilinus in his *Life of Nero*, who mentions it in implied connection with the Iceni. We may consider that we have here a significant intimation that the Iceni had now begun to Romanize very extensively, and that they expended large sums in building villas and indulging the multifarious luxuries of their conquerors in order to gloss over their decayed condition, otherwise it is difficult to assign what could have been the application of such sums. About this time Prasutagus died, who, as if to bring matters to a climax, had appointed the Roman emperor his heir, together with his two daughters. The country of the Iceni Magni had now become included in the Roman province, afterwards called Flavia. The insolence of the Roman officials, colonists, and soldiers was not easily to be tolerated ; the compulsory military service which was required, and the exactions of the tax-gatherer were found very onerous ;

sixth century, son of Cadur, Arthur's cousin, mentioned by Gildas, in his *History*, c. 28. However, it is not impossible this ancient manuscript may have had an ascending line somewhat higher.

and a great shock must have been given to the superstitious feelings of the Britons by the destruction of the Druids, who were about this time cut off in Anglesea, (*Annals*, xiv. 30.) All these circumstances conspiring together seem to have blown the commotions among the Iceni into a flame: the commander-in-chief too, with the principal part of the Roman troops, was absent in another part of the island, which further promoted the revolt. It broke out under Boadicea, the widow of the late king. London and Verulam were burnt. The insurrection extended, nor was it subdued without the loss of 80,000 of the Romans and their allies, and about as many of the Britons. (See Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 31-39; and Xiphilinus, *Nero*).

In the next nineteen years, *i. e.* from the suppression of the revolt of Boadicea, in A.D. 61 to A.D. 80, the Romans had conquered all south of Scotland; and we may now endeavour to trace the arrangements which they appear to have made in consequence of their having obtained these territories; which arrangements, if not made prior to the last-mentioned date, were probably made within the first century.

We have seen that they had apportioned out the province Flavia at the time of the Icenian insurrection, which was probably done just before, or about the year 60. This implies that the provinces, Britannia Prima, comprising the parts south of the Thames and Severn, and Britannia Secunda, comprising North and South Wales, had already been set out, as also was the fourth Roman province, Maxima Cæsariensis. Flavia it must be noted comprised the country eastward of North and South Wales to the same parallel, and Maxima all to the north of these two last-named provinces. This seems to have been called Maxima from its large size; from which cause Theodosius in the fourth century formed its northern portion into a fifth province called Valentia.

The division of Britain into provinces by no means prevented the formation of native kingdoms within their limits. The Roman provincial governors, we may understand, administered the whole government themselves where there were no native princes, but in parts in which they were established would seem to have had merely a controlling power of the same nature as that which the vicarius, or viceroy, had over them, or which the emperor and senate had over the viceroy in various parts of the Roman empire. We have no reason to suppose but that the imposts and tributes were the same

whether they were under the Roman local authorities or native rulers: but the name of a prince of their own was doubtlessly attractive to the inhabitants of conquered countries. Sometimes these vassal kings had a Roman military rank, as Cogidubnus, who was styled in an inscription found at Chichester, *Legatus Augusti in Britannia*. Indeed there is great reason to suppose that these rulers whom we call "native princes" were very often Romans, who were accepted by their subjects, and so appointed by the Roman government instead of native Britons. In corroboration, Mr. Roberts shows (in his *Chronicle of Tysilio*, 4to, 1811, p. 94), that the name Asclepiodotus was properly *Ælius Capitolinus*, from the form in which it occurs in the manuscript copy of the chronicle. When they were appointed, their power clearly became hereditary, by sufferance or otherwise, though always of course liable to be dispossessed of their dominions; and the Romans seemed to have placed garrisons where they pleased within their limits.

It has been deemed allowable to consider in the ensuing pages, either that no native kings obtained power in those parts of Britain where none are mentioned by extant authorities, or that if there were any native chiefs in those parts in question, they must have been of a very obscure and minor class. Were this so, the Romans may be regarded as equally showing the object of their policy in their dealings with the inhabitants of various districts, whether, instead of appointing a powerful vassal king, they established several petty chiefs, wholly insignificant, or left them altogether to the rule of the Roman authorities of the province.

We have already adverted to the circumstance that the Romans appear to have established two kingdoms in the southern parts of Britain before the period we are now speaking of, namely the kingdom of Dumnonia and that granted to Cogidubnus. These were in the late dominions of Cunobeline; they established one afterwards in that quarter at a later period, but the next in point of time seems to have been the kingdom, government, or principality of Genounia carved out of the former territories of the Iceni, which certainly became of importance afterwards. It is believed to have comprised North Wales, with the counties of Cheshire and Shropshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire; in other words, the former territories of the Ordovices, with those of the Cornavii and Cangi. Agricola probably gave these dominions as a vassal kingdom

to some British chief in whose fidelity he could depend shortly after the conquest of the Ordovices in the year 78, with the object to release the Roman forces for his northern campaigns. This is as near a surmise as can be made of the time of the origin of this kingdom; though indeed it is not mentioned by Pausanias in the passage which we have cited at a former page from that author, till at least 50 years afterwards, in the reign of Antoninus. Besides being noticed by Pausanias, this principality or government is also mentioned, in an inscription found at Chester, given by Camden, in his account of Cheshire, as also by Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, No. III. The inscription, which is of a votive character, is of the date of the year 154. It is as follows: "I. O. M. TANARO. T. ELVPIVS. GALER. PRAESENS. GVNTIA. PRI. LEG. XX. V. V. COMMODO. ET. LATERANO. COS. V. S. L. M."\* In English: "T. Elupius Galerius, president of Guntia, with the chiefs of the 20th Legion, Valeriana Victrix, duly performs his vow to Jupiter Tanarus, the best and greatest; Commodus and Lateranus being consuls." At this time it seems that the title of the regulus, or his particular title, as given on the stone, was "præses," or president; much in the same way that Cogidubnus, as before observed, had the Roman title of Legatus Augusti in Britanniâ. "Præses" in fact was a completely Romanizing title; and we should have taken this functionary merely for a Roman governor, did not the passage in Pausanias apprise us to the contrary. This vassal kingdom of Genounia, or Guntia, will easily be recognized as the Venedotia of the middle ages and the Guinedd of the moderns. As Pausanias and the inscription do not agree as to orthography, the correct name may be concluded to have been Gunetha, or some very closely approximating word. Camden supposed Guinethia. As far as may be judged, the name in the Celtic appears to have implied province, or government.

Simultaneously with Genounia we find, from Pausanias, that the Romans had also constituted the Brigantes a kingdom or principality, as that author notes that they had made

\* There have been some doubts entertained as to the proper reading of the inscription, as may be seen in Ward's manuscript notes to Horsley, in the British Museum. These doubts seem to arise solely from the mistake in the inscription, of PRAESENS for PRAESES, which it appears difficult indeed to view otherwise than a mistake.

incursions on Genounia, and that part of their territories had in consequence been taken away. The Silures they do not seem at this time to have trusted under native princes, but to have retained them as part of the province of Britannia Secunda; keeping a legion stationed at Isca Silurum, the modern Caerleon. We may add that by the end of the year 85 they had made considerable conquests in Scotland; which they did not retain many years to their full extent.

Thus has been shown in the preceding brief sketch how the Romans by the force of arms dispossessed the three principal British powers who had gained the ascendancy, of their dominions, and after a forty-two years' war set themselves down in possession of the greatest and fairest portion of the island. By their policy in attacking the principal states successively they prevailed much, and certainly did no less so by placing various parts of the island under native princes whom they could overawe to continue faithful to their interests. They could thus have a certain degree of confidence that one part of the island would continue quiet while they moved with their legions against another. They had in this way, as we have noted, established four considerable vassal kingdoms in the first century, namely, (1) that of the Belgæ; (2) that of the Dumnonii; (3) that of Genounia or North Wales with some appendages; and (4) that of the Brigantes. It may be remarked too that they seem to have found this system equally favourable for retaining as for acquiring their dominions, for they soon reduced their four legions, with which they warred under Ostorius, Suetonius, and Agricola, to three, nor ever permanently increased that number during the remainder of their occupancy.

The occupancy then of the island was a species of joint possession between the Romans and the Britons, very much however to the advantage of the former. The Romans had tribute, both general, from the whole island for the public treasury at Rome, and local, to support their provincial governors. Further, they seized the mines as early as the reign of Claudius, as appears by an ingot of lead stamped with the name of the emperor (*Archæologia*, ix, 4), and by similar impressions of several succeeding reigns. They likewise assumed the right of enforcing compulsory military service in their legions, labour in their public works, and contributions, in kind, of corn for their armies. (Tacitus, *Agricola*, 13-19, 31 and 34, and Xiphilinus, *Life of Nero*.) While on the side of the Britons

there was only the ambition of a few individuals gratified by the elevation to their honours, and the advantage that a portion of them had of being under the immediate rule of their own countrymen and not of the Romans. But as the Roman power declined circumstances conspired more favourably for them. Their services became of far more value and less easy to be dispensed with. From the Britons several generals arose who during the Roman sway either repelled foreign incursions, as Cunedda, or lent their aid to repress insurrections, as Asclepiodotus. It is true that these benefits to the Romans from the system were not without risk; as from the native princes and their alliances even competitors for the Roman imperial throne at last sprang forth: and Clemens Maximus had considerable support from this quarter, as most probably had Constantine the Tyrant, in his insurrection, in the year 407.

Regarding the stations of the Roman troops at this early period of their occupancy: of the legions, the 2d Augusta was stationed at Isca Silurum or Caerleon in South Wales, the 6th Victrix is supposed to have been at Eboracum or York, and the 20th Valeriana Victrix at Deva or Chester. They had besides the auxiliary cohorts of the three legions amounting to about 18,000 men; of these we do not know the stations. The native princes under the Romans it is also obvious had troops.

The first serious annoyance which the Romans sustained within twenty or thirty years of their conquest was from the Caledonians. In proportion as their conquerors introduced the comforts and embellishments of life among the Britons to sweeten servitude, it would naturally follow that they would become the more desirable prey to the hardy mountaineers of Caledonia, who had only been partially subdued by Agricola, and in whose country the Romans of course experienced much difficulty in maintaining garrisons from the cold. We are not able to say what assistance they may have received from Scandinavia and the Cimbrian Chersonesus, that is, from Sweden and Denmark, but that they received some from these quarters is highly probable. Nor are we able to say how early they received co-operation from the Picts. These in the late Irish edition of Nennius, 4to, Dublin, 1847, p. xxxix, are shown with a great degree of probability to have been an offset of the Irish Gwyddyls, but no light is thrown on the commencement of their molestation of the Romans. The earliest



writer who mentions them is Eumenius the panegyrist, in the year 297. However, King Alfred, in his translation of the *History of Orosius*, to which he made many additions, notices the circumstance, which is not in his author, that Severus the Roman emperor fought often against the Scots and the Picts. The assertion of Alfred of course greatly wants corroboration; and gives no certain illustration to these northern hostilities. Beginning, as has been observed, about twenty or thirty years subsequently to Agricola's apparently decisive conquests in Caledonia, they proved in the result very annoying, and sometimes of a very serious description to the Romans and their subjects. Two Roman emperors, Hadrian in the year 120, and Severus in the year 208, came over in the endeavour to terminate them. The expedient of a strong wall and fortified barrier across the island from sea to sea was adopted, the joint work of the emperors Hadrian and Severus, that is, originally formed by the first named emperor, and improved and strengthened by the latter. This, garrisoned by Roman troops, was of course a considerable security, though the evil never ceased entirely during Roman occupation. However, we turn to matters more intimately connected with our subject; though we shall presently further describe the precautionary measures against the Caledonians along with those connected with that double system of defence, which the Romans were soon obliged to adopt.

We now come to a period when the system established by the Romans, that is the adoption of subordinate native government in conjunction with their own, was put to a considerable test, and seems to have answered indifferently well: the period of northern invasion and spoliation of South Britain is meant, when piracy was almost incessant on the ocean, and innumerable Norwegian, Saxon, Frisian and Danish flotillas, all then called Saxon, were continually landing their forces on the coast, when the inhabitants were massacred or carried off as slaves, along with such plunder as could be collected, and when the greatest devastations were committed on such parts of these shores as were visited with this scourge. The freebooters, the Saxons, who committed these ravages are first mentioned in history by Eutropius (ix, 21) towards the end of the third century in the reign of Diocletian: but there is every reason to conclude that their harassing expeditions had begun as early at least as the reign of Antoninus Pius, or

about the middle of the second century ; \* and it is quite certain that these fearful visitations continued to the fifth and sixth centuries. They recommenced in the eighth century, under the name and form of Danish piracies and expeditions ; and for nearly three centuries more the sea coasts which had been long in tranquillity were again harassed, and the island again invaded and dilacerated.

We may now detail the defensive measures of the Romans under the system adopted for Britain. First, they kept a squadron of ships at Tunnocellum (Boulness) on the Solway Firth. (See the *Notitia Imperii*, lxiii, p. 118. Labbe's edition, 12mo, 1651.) The existence of this squadron is inferred on very safe grounds, for though the words fleet or ships be not mentioned in the *Notitia*, yet the station of the first Ælian Naval Cohort at this port is recorded in it, which is a sufficient guarantee for the fact that ships were fitted out and stationed here, manned by the said cohort. From the naval force kept here it clearly appears that descents were apprehended in this north-western part of Britain, and that Saxon and Norwegian pirates had thus early circumnavigated Caledonia. For the protection of the eastern and south-eastern coast they had a larger armament fitted out at the port of Anderida, the modern Pevensea. This was called "Classis Anderitianorum." (See the *Notitia Imperii*, xc, pp. 179, 180. Labbe's edition.) The station of the fleet was the Sequana or Seine on the coast of Gaul, and that of the prefectus or admiral, or rather as may be understood the office of the admiralty, was at Parisii or Paris. The reason in the first instance a preference for that station from some cause ; in the

\* When one of Agricola's ships is carried off by some soldiers of a foreign cohort in the Roman service, and brought by them, after much wandering about the seas to the coasts of the Low Countries, they are taken for pirates. (See Tacitus, *Agricola*, 28.) Somewhat of a proof that even then the Saxon, Danish, and Norwegian cruising had begun : this would have been in the first century. In one of the speculums in East Kent, the Fax, a place so called on the range of hills near Boughton Blean, apparently used to give the alarm when pirates entered the mouths of the Thames and Medway, coins of Antoninus Pius have been found in two instances, and their having been found at the place may be considered as in some measure giving it a date. This referred to the second century ; consequently the above instances, which we may add, are now for the first time applied to illustrate the subject, give good grounds for supposing that, though Eutropius may be the first author who mentions the Saxons, yet that we have indications of their enterprises long before the period with which the passage in his works connects them.

second apparently the inducement of a central situation where possibly intelligence could be more extensively received, or where, at any rate, communications with the head quarters at Rome would have been more immediate. We find a parallel in the station of this fleet in that of Carausius. This commander, whose fleet, from his constantly assumed connection with Britain, must have been chiefly British, seems to have had his principal station at Bononia or Boulogne. (*Eutropius* ix, 21, and Eumenius, *Panegyric of the Emperor Constantius*, 5.)

Respecting this fleet of Anderida, we have here to make the remark, that it has been hitherto erroneously assigned to Gaul, and the misappropriation is ancient, as it dates back to the Commentary of Guido Pancirolus on the *Notitia Imperii*, first published about two centuries and a half ago. Pancirolus, in pp. 146 and 149 of his said *Commentary*, folio, Geneva edition, 1623, appropriates this fleet to the Andegavi, a people of Gallia Celtica; as also a cohort styled the "Milites Andereciani," mentioned in the first of the two passages as stationed at Vicus Julius, a place so called near Mayence, though this last he might have assigned to Anderidum, the modern Mende, an inland town of Languedoc. But because there is not a sufficient similitude between the words Andegavi and Anderetiani, he supposes that these forces were raised from the Andegavi, otherwise called the Andes, and from the Rhoetii, inhabitants of Rhoetia, a country lying to the north of Italy. Without inquiring how far this may have been probable, it may be perhaps allowable to say that the British Anderida situated in the centre of an extensive maritime and at the same time forest tract, in which there were several seaports, appears to have far greater claims both to the fleet and the cohort. The name seems as near as can well be in sound: and the style of the cohort, *i. e.*, "Milites Andereciani," and that of the fleet, "Classis Anderetianorum," correspond well to the idea that both the sailors and soldiers of the cohort fleet were raised in a district of some extent like that of Anderida. It can hardly be supposed but that a British fleet for the Channel existed at the time the *Notitia* was compiled; *i. e.*, at the end of the fourth century: indeed it must have existed very much earlier, and there is no other mention of a British fleet in the *Notitia*. In effect, finding from Tacitus that the Romans were always from the first prompt in making use of their fleets in Britain, and finding the British fleet under

Saturninus mentioned in the reign of Antoninus (*Code of Justinian*, xxxvi, i, 46), no hesitation seems required in laying it down for an axiom, that a Roman British fleet fitted out either at Anderida or some other port of the Channel formed an important part of the system of defence against the Saxons from the time that their attacks began to be serious.

This fleet then, the constant existence of which we thus suppose, must have been highly useful in checking the frequency of the descents, though we well know it could not entirely arrest them. For the land defences of the coast they seem to have had numerous earthworks and many castra built of stone and brick. In one instance the author has traced the principal ports and forts on the sea coast of Sussex to have communicated with a large main camp some twenty or thirty miles in the interior, by diverging roads, one going through it, the others passing at no great distance on either side, and the whole of them coming from Londinium as a central point. (See *Proceedings of the Archæological Congress at Gloucester*, 8vo, 1848, p. 98.) The like has not been hitherto elsewhere traced, but this arrangement is so much of a piece with the accustomed skill displayed by the Romans in their military affairs, that the existence of the same system in other parts of the kingdom is highly probable.

We now come to the general national system of defence, partly Roman and partly British, which henceforth appears to have been adopted, being rendered necessary by the twofold hostilities which with some intervals were carried on against the Romans during the remaining period of their occupation. Their opponents in the two quarters from whence they proceeded acted not in concert, but their object was the same, namely, adventure and spoil; and the arrangements against them give clear indications of the part taken by the remnants still existing of the former three Dominant British States.

To begin with the nation of the Brigantes. The Romans had 24,100 men in this province, as appears by the numbers of the various troops stationed in this quarter mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, reckoning 600 men to a cohort of foot, 300 to a wing of horse, and taking the legion at its old strength of 6000.\* The chief array was made along the Roman wall,

\* It has been thought best in the estimates of the Roman forces in Britain, down to the time of their leaving in the beginning of the fifth century, to

the boundary separating Britain from Caledonia, and in the rear of it. The Romans indeed in some periods of their continuance in Britain occupied the wall of Antoninus, an earthen rampart and ditch with a line of forts about eighty-five miles in advance, between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde, but their various stations contingent upon this are unknown to us, and therefore must be passed by, which may be done the less unwillingly as their more accustomed northern boundary was the wall of Severus, and the other is only to be regarded as the exception. The Romans then had many cohorts in station along the wall of Severus, and the 6th legion, *Victrix*, at Eboracum or York, and numerous cohorts again in the rear of the wall, but none on the sea coasts. Here the absence of the Roman troops along the coast in these parts, except at either extremity of the wall, is very remarkable, and shows us that they were left to the native powers to protect. The supposed existence of two minor states carved out from the dominions of this power, one on the eastern, the other on the western coast, has been before alluded to.

With respect to the former Icenian dominions no Roman troops are mentioned in Lincolnshire their northern portion; but the principal city, Lindum (Lincoln) was a Roman colony and place of sufficient importance to be mentioned in Stephanus *De Urbibus*; its bishop attended also the Council of Arles (*Concilia*, A. D. 314.) It might therefore have, and probably had, the jurisdiction and charge of raising local troops to defend its own sea coasts, receiving power to that effect in other cases given to vassal sovereigns: and this seems the best view of the case. Regarding the southern part of the Icenian dominions, Norfolk and Suffolk, which was possessed by the Icenii Magni, the most powerful of the former states united under the Icenian sway, the Romans purposely, as we may judge, would not establish a native government in this quarter, but ruled it as part of the then province Flavia. In accordance with this we find a cohort at Branodunum, or Brancaster on

assume the numerical strength of the legion, cohort, &c., the same as in the early days of the empire, though ideas vary on this point, and though some consider them reduced at last to very small amounts. For this they appear to have no certain grounds, and their original establishment is here supposed on the principle that we do not know to what extent the alteration went; that is, if there were any. In fact, it is only here professed to give an approximation founded on the datum alluded to as above.

the north-east of Norfolk, and a body of horse at Gariononum or Burgh castle near Yarmouth. A Roman force was therefore on foot in these parts to meet the Saxons. It has been noticed before that the vassal kingdom of Genounia was established in the western parts of the Icenian territories as we know from Pausanias. More confidence seems to have been reposed in that instance.

As to Cunobeline's former territories, the Roman troops, according to the *Notitia Imperii*, seem to have been stationed pretty numerously from Othona or Ithanchester in the north in Essex to Portus Adurni or Aldrington in the south in Sussex. Here then they stationed themselves and kept their guard against their maritime enemies; apparently not without some apprehensions that the ancient British domination might revive under some representative of Cunobeline, and that their conquests might be wrested from them. As in the case of the Iceni, their conduct was different to Cunobeline's late provinces lying to the westward, and removed from the former seat of power. We find from the *Notitia* that not a single cohort was stationed in the territories of the Dumnonii and Belgæ west of Kent, with the exception of troops at two seaports in Sussex. It is evident that the Britons were chiefly intrusted with the defence of the south coast.

There was yet a remaining province of Cunobeline's late dominions, the Silures. These having been first formed into the province of Britannia Secunda with the second legion Augusta quartered at Isca Silurum or Caerleon, reappear at length in British story as the Demetæ. They are much mentioned by Gildas and others, and their formation as a kingdom probably took place in the beginning of the second century, in the reigns either of Trajan or Antoninus in order to release the legion to act elsewhere. This kingdom undoubtedly protected itself.

The Romans had thus the combination of a great part of the native forces in Britain to co-operate with them. The existence of this co-operation has been thought well worthy of our inquiries as one of the elements of the Roman position in Britain; otherwise the mention of the British reguli during Roman occupation, in history, chronicle, or inscription, is rather unfrequent.

Under the above system the last two centuries and a half of Roman occupation wore away; the Romans maintaining their

ground in Britain and keeping their opponents in check. The Britons undoubtedly well pleased to lend their concurrence to prevent the desolation of their country. In one remarkable instance all the precautions taken failed entirely, which, as it was the means of developing more fully the power of the British *reguli*, we may here mention. In the year 368 the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti seemed to have had Britain at their mercy, and there was danger of the island being lost entirely to the Romans, who, from the intimations given us by Ammianus Marcellinus, must have received some very considerable defeats. That author informs us, in his *History of Rome*, xxxvii, 8, 9, that Nectaridus, Count of the Saxon shore, had fallen in battle, and that Fullofaudes, the Dux (Britanniæ) or commander at the Roman wall, was hemmed in by the machinations of the enemies. It was only the energy of Valentinian the First, and of Theodosius the Great, his general, sent on an especial mission to Britain as commander in chief, which stemmed the adverse current of events and re-established order. Uninterrupted success seemed to attend the career of this general, who in the first instance surprised the barbarians engaged in the spoil of London, and on subsequent occasions put them to flight (xxxviii, 3.) After which he reorganized the native British states who lived in vassalage to the Romans, and repaired the fortresses. "In integrum restituit civitates\* et castra," (*ibid.*)

The Roman power continued to decline rapidly during the fourth century, and no less so in Britain than in other parts of the empire. This is undoubtedly the reason why we find that now more is recorded of the British states and their *reguli* than before. Thus, mention now occurs of Cunedda, a British chief, who dispossesses the Irish who had obtained a footing in North Wales. (See the manuscript historical fragment in Gunn's *Nennius*, 8vo, 1819, p. 120.) Einion Urdd, his son, is recorded as having dominions in Cumberland in 389. (See Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, 4to, 1723, p. 183.) Previous to this last date Cynan or Conan, a *regulus* of North Wales, procured in the year 388 an immense levy of Britons to accompany Clemens Maximus, in his expedition to the

\* In a subsequent passage, in a kind of recapitulation of the acts of Theodosius in Britain, instead of "restituit civitates" it is expressed "instaurabat urbes," which is apparently a Middle Age corruption of the text.

Continent, who was then advancing his pretensions to the imperial throne.

The leading features of the expedition of Maximus are well known; his transient success, and ultimate failure and death in 389. The whole of the Roman legions and troops appear to have been then drawn out of the island; and a minor work of Giraldus Cambrensis, his *De Instructione Principis*, informs us that, on the forces of Maximus leaving the island for the Continent, Gratian the Roman emperor procured the Picts to invade Britain as a counter stroke of policy. (See *Nennius*, Dublin edition, 4to, 1847, p. cxii.) But compare Tysilio's *Chronicle*, Roberts' edition, p. 102, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, v, 16, by which it appears doubtful whether the Pictavians of Gaul may not have been meant, whom Gratian employed to harass the coast of Armorica, and not of Britain; but who afterwards passed over to the latter country.

It has been noted, that Maximus transported the Roman force from Britain to employ it on the Continent. This was in the year 383. However, twelve years afterwards we find, in the *Notitia Imperii*, pp. 55, 109, 141, the Roman force back again, and what is somewhat remarkable, the very two legions which had so long been in the island, the 2d Augusta, and 6th Victrix, pp. 109 and 141. This is a circumstance to which some attention may be directed, being hitherto unexplained.

The two passages which appear to bear most on the point are the one in Gildas, c. 15, and another which stands nearly the same in the apocryphal pages of the *British Chronicle* and those of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Gildas acquaints us that, at the request of the Britons, one legion was sent to repulse the Picts and Scots; while Geoffrey of Monmouth says, v, 17, that Maximus detached a commander named Gratian Municeps to Britain with two legions, which must have been the two so long before in the island, shortly before his death. But the tenor of Gildas' argument, in his chapters 14, 15, and 16, is so clearly expressed, that the assistance sent at this time to the Britons was by the constituted authorities, that we have no alternative but to reject the assertion of the two chronicles in this respect. The course the least attended with difficulties is to receive, (1) That the same two legions, the 2d and 6th, which had revolted and accompanied Maximus to the Continent were sent back again,



strange as it may appear, to Britain when the rebellion was suppressed;\* (2) That the statement of Gildas of one legion for two is a corruption of the text; and (3) That the name of the general in the chronicle, who was appointed to take them back, Gratian Municeps, is correct. This last particular is corroborated by Paulus Diaconus, xiii, and Zosimus, vi, who both mention that there was a Gratian afterwards in the island, who himself revolted, and the first-mentioned author gives his name as Gratian Municeps.

It may be observed that *Triads* 17 and 21 represent Owain the son of Maximus, appointed king of the Britons, and refusing to pay the tribute, which must have been at this conjuncture, or no long time afterwards. *Triads* 34 and 41, however, which appear to speak of the same person, style him son of Ambrosius; and the latter of them as son of Ambrosius the bard, who was of course not the same as the person of the like name whom we shall have occasion to mention at a subsequent page.

Among the Roman officers who were appointed to carry out their system of defence for Britain was one who was styled, "Comes Littoris Saxonici," *i. e.* Count of the Saxon shore, which indeed was the rank of the commander whose catastrophe was mentioned at a shortly preceding page. However, a doubt has been raised of late years whether the expression may not imply that the Saxons already possessed a territory on the shores of Britain under the protection of the Romans, which is opposed to the tenor of history; no more appearing to be implied than the coast frequented by the Saxons. No explanation is afforded in the account of Ammianus Marcellinus, just referred to; one of the few passages which seem to allude to this officer; as he is merely there styled commander of the coast: indeed we are otherwise rather deficient of information respecting this functionary, as we do not know the date of the creation of the office, or his head-quarters, or what civil jurisdiction he possessed.

Time thus progressed; but, as the fourth century began to draw towards its conclusion, another feature was added, that, great as was the want of Britain of troops for its defence, the

\* Judging from the uncertain accounts of the chronicles, it is not improbable that Maximus lost Britain before the final downfall of his power. It will be seen at a subsequent page that a very parallel case is supposed to have occurred in the similar rebellion of Constantine the Tyrant.

want of the other parts of the empire was greater, and the Roman army began to be withdrawn. At first there had been four legions, as has been mentioned, which with auxiliaries amounted to about 48,000 men. Afterwards, about the beginning of the second century, they were reduced to three legions, or, with the accompaniments as before, to about 36,000 men; and though at various times an increased number of forces was sent over on particular occasions, yet this it seems was only for some specific purpose, and they were soon again withdrawn. About the end of the fourth century we find, by the *Notitia*, that the number had become reduced to two legions, but the auxiliaries seem to have been more than the proper auxiliaries of three, which was the whole amount supposed by Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*, since from an enumeration of them at a subsequent page from the *Notitia Imperii*, we have 37,900 for the entire number of troops instead of 30,000, amounting indeed to more than the proper number of two legions, and the auxiliaries of four; a correction therefore of ideas usually entertained on the subject seems required. On the whole, the hypothesis that there were two legions, the auxiliaries of three, and some additional troops, seems the best. However, Alaric, a new and dangerous enemy, had now grown up in the east, and to resist him another legion was withdrawn. (See Claudian *de Bello Getico*, v. 416.) This from the particular allusion in Claudian, that it had been the legion in advance against the Picts and Scots (verses 417, 418,) appears to have been the sixth Victrix, which we know was quartered so long at York. In 407 a person, usually styled Constantine the Tyrant, having gained over the army of Britain to his interest, and making a sudden attempt against the Roman empire, seems to have transported the whole of the remaining military of the island to the Continent for his expedition; or if any were still left they may be regarded as extremely few. Constantine, as a rival for imperial power, maintained a struggle for four years, being put to death at last at Arles in Gaul, in September, 411, as appears by various authorities. However, it may be understood that he had lost Britain before his final overthrow, as a revulsion seems to have taken place in the island the preceding year during his absence; since Zosimus, in his *History of the Roman Emperors*, vi, 10, represents the emperor Honorius, in the year 410, as addressing letters to the cities in Britain,

which were evidently in answer to addresses of submission, and petitions for military aid which had been forwarded to him. Thus, sufficient proof seems to be afforded on the point. We have also intimation of the fact in the circumstances mentioned connected with the said application to Honorius, that all permanent Roman military force was henceforth withdrawn from the island; for the emperor's answer to the Britons was, that they must defend themselves. Nor is there after this any more mention in classic authors of Roman troops in Britain, except the casual assistance which we shall mention; however, it may be added, that from henceforth there is very little mention of Britain of any sort or kind in authors deserving the name of classics.

The assistance alluded to, we may here observe, somewhat in the way of anticipation, was a Roman legion sent to protect the Britons in the year 421, and withdrawn in the same year, being, as there appears to be proof, their last military force which came to the island, though there is reason to think that the Britons continued a political connection, and paid tribute a few years longer.\*

The author Gildas, whom we have lately referred to, and another Nennius, come in at this period, from the letters of Honorius in 410, for thirty years or more, to supply the breach in our information. These hold a position in some degree midway between historians and chronicle writers. In other words they are uncouth historians, and the text of each of them is very corrupt; but they are worthy to be received as evidence, as now begins to be generally allowed by the most competent judges on these subjects; that is, in cases where the facts can be precisely ascertained and understood of which they actually mean to speak, for they are very obscure in this last particular. Some little recapitulation is necessary, in order the better to understand the tenor of their narratives.

There is a remarkable passage in Nennius, where, taking a general view of British history, from the assumption of power by Carausius in the year 287 to the 26th year of Honorius in

\* According to Buchanan, in his *History of Scotland*, 8vo, Edinb. 1643, pp. 133, 134, the legion whose commander was named Maximianus was, together with its allies the Britons, considerably checked and defeated in the first instance, but afterwards gained a signal victory over the Picts and Scots, whom they were sent to oppose.

421, he divides this space of 134 years into three periods of rebellion and subsequent submission to the Romans. There is the same drift and object in Gildas, the other kindred authority; which indeed is the true and sole explanation of a great part of both their works. The not understanding what facts they intended to relate has been the great cause why a closer application of their narrative has not been made by modern writers down to the present time; and it is really astonishing how the tenor of our two writers as to the point in question has been so strangely overlooked, as will be seen from our cursorily going over the particulars they mention. The obscurity of these two authors and the corruption of their text may certainly have been the cause. But now the true explanation becomes undeniable by the publication of the Irish Nennius.

Nennius (c. 30, p. 60, Gunn's edition, 8vo, 1819,) describes the Britons as three times putting to death the Roman commanders (duces), and as again submitting and imploring the aid of the Romans against their enemies. He adds to this, "and so they alternately did for 443 years," *i. e.* the whole time of the Roman occupancy: meaning that besides these three principal rebellions they had many more revolts. This remarkable passage is to be thus applied.

The first of the rebellions is the one described with so much indignation by our other author Gildas (chapters 6 and 7), who was a writer strong in the Roman interest, and whose account we shall touch upon presently. It was the insurrection of Carausius which commenced in the year 287, and terminated with the death of Allectus in the year 296, entailing during the whole of its continuance severe losses on the Romans. It was put down, and the Romans resumed their sovereignty and their expedition after this in favour of the Britons, was that of Constantius Chlorus, against the Picts, in the year 306. (*Script. anon. de Const. Chloro.*) The second rebellion was that of Clemens Maximus, a Roman commander in Britain in the year 383, who, as already has been mentioned at a preceding page, passed over to the Continent with the Roman forces on the island, accompanied by an immense levy of Britons under Cynan a British regulus; and this rebellion like the former was attended by great disasters to the Romans. The expedition after this in aid of the Britons was that of Victorinus, a general sent by the

Roman prime minister Stilicho (see Claudian, *de Laudibus Stilichonis*, c. xi), who checked the rebellion and restored peace. The third and last rebellion noted by our author was that of Constantine the Tyrant, to which we have also before made allusion. This commenced in the year 407 and ended in 411, by the death of its prime mover, but in the interim there appears to have been, as before remarked, a counter revolution. As to the assistance furnished to the Britons after, it is true that the Emperor Honorius refused to send them troops in the year 410: but it seems he granted them considerable aid in the year 421, as has been before noticed, when a legion was sent (See Paulus Diaconus *Historiæ Miscellanæ* xiii, and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, i, 12), which repulsed their enemies; making the third time, as Nennius observes, that the Romans had come forward to succour the Britons. Thus we have in these views the true and unconstrained and most natural explanation of our author.

The edition of Nennius published by the Irish Archæological Society (Dublin, 4to, 1847), the *Leabhar Breathnach*, varies in its account of these transactions from all former editions of Nennius in a very remarkable manner (p. 71 to p. 75), but as we now find gives the true and original text. The passage therefore, though before considered very inexplicable by the learned editor (see the additional notes, p. xxi), yet with the interpretation just given of the more brief text of the copies of Nennius before known, will appear very clear and consistent, and will fully exhibit the value of the Dublin edition; more so indeed than even the learned editors themselves seem aware. The account may accordingly follow, a remark or two being premised.

The reader must first know that the ecclesiastic named Nennius had but a very secondary share in the work which passes under his name. Marcus the anachoret, for a long time a bishop in Ireland, originally wrote it in the year 822 (*Nennius*, Dublin edition, Introduction, pp. 12 and 18), while Nennius only republished it in 858 with additions and alterations (p. 18). Another edition we are informed was republished in 906 (pp. 18 and 19), and a further one in 946 from the earlier edition of Marcus (p. 19), which was that brought forward in late years by Mr. Gunn. The work first appeared in an Irish version in 1050 (preface, p. xi), and of this we have no earlier manuscript than one of the twelfth

century (p. 21). These valuable particulars to the historical inquirer are communicated in the Dublin edition in the order in which we have referred to them. We have now to observe, that it will be clearly seen, from the ensuing extract, that Marcus the original composer, had a detailed history of Roman Britain before him, but that drawing up his narrative for the Irish, he omitted in various instances names of persons and places as well as dates, and gave only general results, which he might have thought most interesting to those for whom he wrote. Again, the work being remodelled for the use of the Britons in Wales, Nennius, the remodeller, finding neither the scenes of action nor the actors specified, particulars with which had they been given, they probably would have been pleased, abridged the indefinite narrative, and reduced it to a few general heads, as we now have the common British edition. Further, as to the Irish edition of 1050, which we may regard as virtually reproduced in the Dublin volume of 1847, the Irish translator, though following in the main the British edition of Nennius, which he apparently did for brevity's sake, yet had also the original of Marcus before him, to which at times he gave the preference, as in this instance. We can thus consider that we have a portion of the work of Marcus as at first compiled. The account is as follows:

“Four hundred and nine years were the Britons under Roman tribute. But afterwards (*i. e.* in the course of time after becoming tributary) the Britons drove out the Roman power (*i. e.* in the revolt of Carausius,) and did not pay them tax or tribute; and they killed all the Roman chiefs (*i. e.* governors) that were in the island of Britain.

“Immediately, however, the power of the Cruithnians (*i. e.* Picts) and of the Gaels (*i. e.* Caledonians) advanced into the heart of Britain, and they drove them to the river whose name is Tin (*i. e.* Tyne.) There went afterwards (*i. e.* after Allectus was conquered) ambassadors from the Britons to the Romans with mourning and great grief, with sods on their heads, and with many costly presents along with them, to pray them not to take vengeance on them for the chiefs of the Romans who were put to death by them. Afterwards Roman chiefs and consuls came back with them, and they promised that they would not the less willingly receive the Roman yoke, however heavy it might be.

“Afterwards the Roman knights came and were appointed

princes and kings over the island of Britain, and the army then returned home. Anger and grief seized the Britons from the weight of the Roman yoke and oppression upon them, so that they put to death the chieftains which were with them in the island of Britain the second time (*i. e.* revolted under Clemens Maximus). Hence the power of the Cruithnians and Gaels increased again over the Britons; and it became heavier than the Roman tribute; because their total expulsion out of their lands was the object aimed at by the Northern Cruithnians and Gaels.

“After this the Britons went in sorrow and in tears to the Roman Senate; and thus we are told, (that) they went with their backs foremost for shame; and a great multitude returned with them, *i. e.*, an innumerable army of Romans, and sovereignty and chieftaincy were assumed over them afterwards. But again the Roman tribute became oppressive to the Britons, so that they slew their kings and chieftains the third time (*i. e.* revolted under Constantine the Tyrant.)

“Afterwards there came Roman chieftains across the sea, and gained a very great victory over the Britons (*i. e.* Caledonians, A. D. 421), so that they vindicated the honour of their people upon them; and they plundered the island of Britain of its gold and its silver; and took from it its satin and silk, and its vessels of gold and silver, so that they returned home with victory and triumph.”

Such is this highly curious extract. We may here briefly advert that the History of Gildas is likewise almost equally illustrated by the Irish edition of Nennius, as the usually British copies of that author have been. Chapters 6 and 7 of Gildas, before generally misunderstood, apply to the first rebellion; Chapters 13, 14, and 15 to the second; whilst Chapters 16, 17, and 18 refer to the events consequent to the putting down the third rebellion, that of Constantine the Tyrant; though Gildas, from some cause, has omitted the mention of the rebellion itself.

We ought not to omit one remark on this passage of Nennius. He speaks of the animosity of the Britons against the Romans; yet the insurrections he mentions arose apparently from quite different causes; *i. e.* that of Carausius from self-preservation, and the other two from ambition.

The foregoing passage from Nennius gives the conclusion of the military occupancy of the Romans, who henceforth

had no troops quartered here. The tribute however seems to have been continued to be paid some years longer ; of which the cause was apparently that the now rapidly accelerated fall of the Roman empire was not yet fully believed by the world, and that the Romans having a party in the island the machinery of their government was not at once arrested.

The correct assignment of the time when the last Roman legion sent on the supplications of the Britons arrived has hitherto been a desideratum, but the date of the year 421 has been here adopted from Matthew of Westminster, which is not contradicted by any documentary evidence. The Saxon Chronicle, which in three instances in the very few events given between the rebellion of Maximus in 383 and the petition to Ætius in 446, antedates respectively two, one, and three years, has 418 ; this, the habit of antedating at the above period being allowed for, seems a close approximation. Matthew of Westminster likewise gives the date of the year 434, when the Roman tribute ceased to be paid in Britain, which has every appearance of being authentic. The date 421 also corresponds tolerably well with Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Misc.* xiii, who may be understood as placing the event of the sending of the legion towards the end of the reign of Honorius.

After the year 421, for about two centuries, we come upon a period in which the ancient British Chronicles, *i. e.* that of Tysilio, that of Geoffery of Monmouth, and some others, form a large part of our materials. To use these romancing narratives unreservedly would be wholly unwarrantable. At the same time we treat of a period in which information is particularly scanty and unconnected ; hence entirely to forbear to take from them particulars apparently correct, and in part otherwise corroborated, would hardly seem advisable. A middle course appears to be the one preferable to follow. Thus we scarcely do more than to adopt from Tysilio the descents of the kings for these times, necessarily adding the events which according to him mainly influenced each succession.

The line of kings is of course the part in which such a compilation as an ancient chronicle would be the most likely to be correct. Corroborated the Chronicles certainly are in various incidental particulars by Bede, Nennius, Gildas, Paulus Diaconus, and by Welch literature ; as also in one important instance of military assistance sent by the Britons to Armorica, in the fifth century, by Jornandes. Skilful and learned



editorship, as that of Gunn, Stevenson, Dr. Todd, and the Honourable Mr. Herbert, has raised Gildas and Nennius to historical authorities, whilst little has been done in the way of annotation for the Chronicles since the days of Roberts, editor of Tysilio. This is to be regretted, as, though the Chronicles are apocryphal works, nevertheless much of the later portions of their narrative seems capable of being placed on a more certain basis than has been done.

The Romans in Britain, after Honorius had refused his assistance in 410, and especially after their troops had finally left, in the year 421, became no more than a separate interest or faction in the country ; at first extremely powerful, possessing the predominating rule, and represented by the Constantine family of Cornwall ; afterwards declining in the reigns of Uther Pendragon, and Arthur, to a less and less section of the state, until in the time of this last we can trace their influence no more.

As to the dominant British powers themselves, at the time the Romans left, we have seen, at a former page, that the Demetæ, representatives of the ancient Silures, had been added, who became a powerful state, and were frequently closely blended with Venedotia, or North Wales. None of the dominant states were however destined to give the first king to Britain, as will be shown in due course.

When Honorius wrote to the principal inhabitants of the cities of Britain, in the year 410, it will be observed he exhorted them to defend themselves, and said nothing that is recorded of their choosing a king. It is evident also that they had not taken this step in the year 421, when the legion came to their relief. It is even probable that the form of appointing a viceroy, consular governors, presidents, &c., was continued for many years ; though, as Gildas and Nennius do not mention these in the various petitions for assistance made to the Britons, the inference is that their power in course of time became nearly nominal. In the fluctuating state of things which now took place in Britain, the nationalities of several of the minor states, which had been long deprived of power, would naturally resume their influence. We may illustrate these views by what we may understand to have been the case, or rather conjecture to have been the case, in the instance of Britannia Prima, the part of Britain the best known in the times in question. In this there were already two native states, the Belgæ and Dumnonii : but there is great reason to suppose a native power

had grown up in Kent to the exclusion of the authority of the president of the province; as Nennius, c. 37, mentions a ruler here with the British sounding title of Guoranogon. Regarding the considerable cities of Silchester and London, we have no means of knowing whether they enfranchised for themselves a surrounding territory.

It is not easy to say what modifications might have taken place among the British powers after the departure of the Romans, if they had been left undisturbed by external force: but the Scots and Picts pressed them vehemently in the north, and the Saxons annoyed them along the coasts. Buchanan, in his *Historia rerum Scotticarum*, 8vo, 1643, p. 131-140, seems to be the writer who gives the best account of the earlier part of the transition period which now ensued from the year 421 to 449. This he takes from the Scotch Chronicles; and though chronicles of an early date are usually a suspicious source, yet it will be seen in the sequel that it is hardly fair to deem his account in the present instance apocryphal. It may be not unnecessary to mention that the Scotch had their Chronicles long before John De Fordun, who published his History or Chronicle in the year 1377, and regarded them as authorities; as appears by a declaration of the Scottish clergy touching their rights in the year 1309, who refer to these ancient sources. (See Robertson's *Index of Records*, Appendix, p. 5, as quoted in Ritson's *Annals*, 12mo, 1828, vol. i, p. 5.) Further, in the same way as Rudborne's Chronicle contains accounts of various transactions which occurred between the Britons and Saxons in the vicinity of Winchester in the ancient territories of Belgæ, about a century later, not recorded elsewhere,\* so some of the ancient Scotch Chronicles may have preserved the leading feature of the events in the north of England with which they were so intimately connected. At any rate we may take a sketch of what they supply us, to fill up a blank which we cannot do from any other source.

Buchanan then informs us that the legion sent to the assistance of the Britons in the year 421, to which we have before adverted, was in the first instance unsuccessful (p. 133), but afterwards signally discomfited their enemies, (p. 134). Soon after the legion left, the Scots and Picts are

\* Rudborne's Chronicle is printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, fol. 1691, vol. i, p. 179-287, and several omissions in it are supplied in Leland's *Collectanea*, 8vo, 1770, vol. i, pp. 420-430.

described as again collecting and breaking through the wall and putting the Britons to flight (*ibid.*). After this, at no long interval, peace appears to have been concluded (p. 135), which we may assign to the year 425. Though we use the term Britons, yet it must be understood that it was only on one portion of them, the Brigantes, on whom the weight of these struggles fell, who had thus to form a barrier for the rest of Britain: at least, this is the view which it seems most obvious to take.

On peace being made, the Britons, that is, the Brigantes, as we may so consider them, are described as reduced to a state of extreme distress from the late hostilities; their towns and buildings destroyed, and themselves unable to cultivate the ground from the loss of their cattle and implements. The account paints them as almost in a state of civil war for food; for, though some endeavoured to support their existence by the chase, yet many others resorted to the plunder and spoil of their own countrymen. In the midst of this distress roving bands of Irish effected a landing, whose object was plunder. To these many surrendered from mere famine, reckless of their fate; nor were the invaders repulsed till a party collected together who had concealed themselves in caves, and drove them back to their vessels. This Irish incursion is noticed by Gildas in his *History*, and by some of the Chronicles, as well as by Buchanan, though frequently with much variation as to date.\*

The peace, however, which it seems was of some considerable duration, no doubt soon brought more consoling scenes, and produced amelioration and relief. The account goes on to say, how in process of time hostilities again recommenced with the Picts and Scots. The rupture seems to have taken place as follows, on occasion of claims made by these unquiet neighbours, about the year 435, for a cession of territory within the boundary of the Roman wall. The subject is described as debated in a council of the Britons, when war was decided upon; and Conan, a Briton, who had advised acquiescence in the demands of the enemies, was killed in a tumult which ensued as the council broke up. Both parties

\* There seems to have been some narrative or historical account relative to this juncture formerly extant, from which Gildas copied, and Buchanan's authorities, though others may have inaccurately applied these circumstances to a later period.

made the greatest preparations possible, but those of the Britons are described as somewhat incomplete (p. 138). However both sides assembled their forces, when the greatest battle is said to have occurred ever fought in the island (p. 139); which, according to his description, we may class as the Jena or Austerlitz of ancient Britain. Of the Britons, 14,000 fell; of the Picts and Scots, 4000. This battle was followed immediately by a peace; and a cession of all the country north of the Humber (*ibid.*). But it may be inferred that the Brigantes retained possession of the western portion of their territories, that is, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. With these hard terms likewise the delivery of a hundred hostages was enforced, the immediate payment of a sum of money for the troops, and an annual money payment; from which it appears that the other Britons had been parties to the war, as these terms could hardly have been made with the Brigantes who were now *ipse facto* conquered, except, as we have here supposed, portions of their western territories. However, Guethelin, the Bishop of London, took occasion, from these disasters, to recommend the appointment of a king or leader for the whole island, to which they acquiesced.

The foregoing is certainly the clearest exposition of the history of this obscure interval that can be found; the question is, how far it may be regarded authentic. In respect to this we may remark, that though the greater part of the events may be found in the History of Gildas or in Tysilio's Chronicle, yet that the chronological order in those writers, as far as they have the events the same as Buchanan, is so wholly repugnant, that it is evident that they must have derived their materials through some other medium. Buchanan's account is also deserving of the greater confidence, as it refers the resumption of the ancient custom of choosing a pendragon or leader in common, to this time, contrary to Tysilio and the other Chronicles, who regard it to have taken place before.

Constantine of Armorica was the person chosen king, which event occurred, as would seem implied, the same year, 435, and according to the Chronicles brought over with him a force of 2000 men. This might have been necessary to secure his influence, and to form his body-guard, the power of Celtic kings appearing to be rather military than civil. Thus, none of the native *reguli*, as has been observed, became the king

paramount, though, according to Welch pedigrees, this Constantine of Armorica appears, in process of time, to have become possessed of the throne of Dumnonia to which he was near in succession ; but in what way is not known.

As to political position, we may assume that Constantine is to be thus viewed—(1) as chosen king paramount to coalesce the power of the British states, to prevent them from being cut off in detail ; (2) to be their commander in battle ; and, (3) to represent the Roman interests in the island, which it is evident still continued to exist to a considerable extent.

According to the *Chronicles*, the new king was crowned with ceremony at Silchester, and married a Roman lady of rank in the island soon after his arrival. He was a sovereign high in estimation it is evident, from the favourable mention of him in the *Triads* and *Chronicles*. Nevertheless, but few particulars of his public acts are recorded either in the said *Chronicles* or in the *Cambrian Biography* of Owen Pughe, 12mo, 1803, or the *Biographical Dictionary* of Robert Williams. The fullest account of him is in the *Chronicle* or *History* of John Rouse, of Warwick, who, travelling in Wales in the 15th century, for documents to aid his researches, met with many ancient manuscripts, and among them some ancient Welch *Chronicles*, from which he extracted his account. His additions however scarcely amount to more than mentioning the surveys of his kingdom taken by this prince, his repairing Warwick, before called Caerleon, by him renamed Caerumber, and subsequently by Gwair, a British prince or chief, in later times called Caergwayr ; his building Caervrongon or Worcester, and Caerwent, as he describes it, near Chepstow, but which last place was most probably not Caerwent in Wales or Venta Silurum, but Caer Gwent, *i. e.* Winchester, in the country of the Belgæ. (See Rouse's *Historia Regum Angliæ*, 8vo, 1745, pp. 53, 54.) All the accounts seem to agree that on his arrival he marched against the Scots and Picts, and having gained successes returned, and was crowned, and reigned ten or twelve years afterwards at peace with his neighbours, till he was assassinated by a Pict. However, we must draw our own inferences as to the amount of successes gained. The last we heard of the Picts and Scots was that the Humber was their boundary ; the next we hear of them but a few years subsequently, though indeed after this monarch's death, is, that their forces were in the

neighbourhood of Stamford. All therefore that Constantine was able to do was probably merely obtaining more favourable terms, leaving his opponents during his time in their advanced position.

Further, it is in his reign that we must place the remarkable application by the Britons to the Romans for assistance, made in their letter to Ætius, at that time the Roman commander in Gaul. This was probably only one out of many applications; and may have been the more especially cited by Gildas, from the strong and rather singular expressions in it. The letter, this writer informs us, was in these terms: "To Ætius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons." It went on, he says, shortly afterwards: "The barbarians repel us to the sea; the sea drives us back on the barbarians: thus we have only the choice to be slain or to be drowned." \*

This letter, which is so singular a feature in the annals of these times, is well deserving some remark. Ætius was the third time consul in the year 446, in the reign of Valentinian the Third, which fixes its date. The enemies which threatened Britain so imminently at this time were the Picts and the Scots, as we have not omitted to notice, and as will readily be acknowledged. It may be concluded then, that the letter was written by those of the Britons with whom the Scots and Picts were more immediately in contact at the time. This summons for assistance therefore does not seem to have been from the Britons generally. If so, the name of Constantine their king would appear in it. The preferable supposition seems to be that a part of the Britons, the Brigantes, who had submitted to the Picts some few years before, were now in the character of insurgents contending anew for their independence against their northern foes, and that this urgent missive emanated from them in their exigency when nearly overpowered. Its terms certainly do not seem so applicable to the rest of their countrymen.

\* Polydore Vergil in his *History*, Book iii, gives the whole of this epistle though without adducing the authority of any manuscript. It must be recollected, however, that Gale says of him in his prefaces to his *XV Scriptores*, that there was a report, that when he left England, he took with him a ship load of books. Among these there might have been many ancient historical manuscripts. In the present instance, the assumed letter being merely a paraphrase of the few particulars noted by Gildas without any additional idea, it shows evidently that the historian possessed no exclusive information relative to the case in point.

We may cite a passage in the fourteenth book of the *History* of Paulus Diaconus in confirmation of this view (p. 438, edit. 1569). His words are, "Britanni itaque de quibus præmissum est cum rursus Scotorum Pictorumque incursionibus premerentur mittunt Ætio epistolam lacrymis refertam, ejusque quamtociùs auxilium efflagitant. Quibus cum Ætius minime annuisset quod contra vicinos hostes occupatus existeret, quidam Britannorum strenue resistentes, hostes abigunt, quidam vero coacti, hostibus subjiciuntur." In English, The Britons of whom we spoke before now again harassed by the incursions of the Scots and Picts send a letter replete with their lamentations to Ætius pressing for his immediate assistance, which when Ætius refused, because he was occupied with enemies immediately at hand, some of the Britons strenuously resisting, repelled the enemy; others were overcome and obliged to submit.

Now, admitting it was the Brigantes who sent the missive for assistance as here supposed, the event as noted by Paulus Diaconus will fully correspond with the known result, *i. e.* the Brigantes generally were subdued, but the westernmost portion of them, the inhabitants of Westmoreland, Cumberland and Lancashire, under the name of the Cumbri, preserved their independence, and indeed partially retained it for some centuries afterwards. See Camden's preface to his *Britannia*.

There is another curious point connected with this period of ancient British history. The Constantine, the British king, now on the stage, seems the counterpart, in one rather remarkable particular, of another person of the same name, Constantine the Tyrant, who preceded him about thirty-five years, in their both having a son Constans described to have been a monk. Hence some supposed the second Constantine a fictitious character, being principally known to us through the chronicles. But there are secondary proofs of the existence of such a person in the *Triads* and *Liber Landavensis* which seem to be satisfactory.\* Thus we appear to have no other course than to solve this species of dilemma by supposing as the names of Constantine and Constans were both at that time very common, as also the custom not unfrequent of adopting a monastic life, that we have nothing more in this circumstance

\* For instance, there is mention of him in *Triad* 21, by his name Constantine the Blessed, though in error apparently for his son. In the *Liber Landavensis* endowments of church lands by him are specified.

than a coincidence which might now exist of two persons of the same name having both sons with like names in the army or in the church. This interpretation is the more supported as the story of the two Constantines and their sons has no resemblance in other respects.

The death of Constantine, before noticed, is assigned to the year 448: and we now come to the brief reign of Constans, his son, the account of which is entirely derived from Tysilio and other chronicles. We had for the last reign a species of confirmation from the *Liber Landavensis* and the *Triads*; but here we are entirely devoid of support, and accordingly have no other course than to submit the detail which is given us. Vortigern then, an ambitious British noble, is represented as placing Constans, the eldest son of the late king, on the throne, at that time a sub-deacon in the church of Winchester (Rouse's *Chronicle*, p. 55), and if our former data be right, of the age of about twelve years. Constans commits the whole of the cares of government to Vortigern, his prime minister, and after possessing the throne for a short period is murdered by his Pictish body-guard, whom he kept to the number of a hundred about his person, acting by the advice of Vortigern. The employment of this band of foreigners and their betrayal of their trust, is made quite an episode in the chronicles, and given in some detail. According to their accounts this body-guard was to be of use as a means of obtaining information of the movements of their countrymen or to serve as hostages.

After the murder had taken place Vortigern had them all put to death; and it appears that there were some who thought him guilty, while others maintained his innocence (*Geoffrey of Monmouth*, vi, 8). However, those who had the care of the young princes, Guethelin being dead, conveyed them away for greater security to Armorica; and thus, there being no competitors of the royal family, Vortigern himself ascended the throne; and the Picts, the allies of the Scots, restrained up to this time, as we may understand, within their boundary of the Humber, immediately invaded the southern provinces of Britain, to revenge the death of their countrymen.

We are now come to a noted period of British history, when the Saxons begin to be introduced on the scene as struggling for the sovereignty of the island; we may therefore make a short pause to consider, somewhat rapidly and con-



cisely, the nature of the kingly power among the Britons ; and here it will be necessary not only to refer to some historical events which have been already noticed, but also to some others which belong to our subsequent pages.

The regal dominion, then, held by the sovereigns of Britain in these ages seems most properly described as an elective monarchy made hereditary ; or, to take the converse of the proposition, as an hereditary monarchy requiring to be confirmed at the succession of each monarch by a popular election. Such were probably most Celtic monarchies. Somewhat more than a mere leadership for war or state emergencies, such as the Celts in Britain and on the continent had been accustomed to adopt in earlier ages, the object of which was to place various tribes under the guidance of one man who was in the quasi-position of a king. There was this essential difference, as now in the case of the kings paramount, or pendragons\* of Britain, traces of succession by descent are noticeable. Thus Constans, though an ecclesiastic, and of very immature age, succeeds Constantine of Armorica, his father, which gives a clear indication that time had produced an alteration in the customs of the Celts, and that their ideas on the subject of sovereign sway had become different. More primitively nothing approaching to this seems to have been tolerated. Thus we find in *Cæsar's Commentaries*, Gaulish Wars, vii, 4, that Celtillus, a pendragon or leader general of the Gauls, lost his life because he had endeavoured to change his delegated power into an "imperium," that is, to make it more permanent and settled.

There is another feature, that the paramount sovereignty was also divisible. Thus, Vortigern granted to Aurelius Ambrosius the paramount headship and jurisdiction of the British states in the western parts of Britain and the south of Wales (*Nennius*, c, 42) ; which jurisdiction, for aught that appears to the contrary, he continued to hold till he overthrew

\* It is common to call the sovereigns of Britain, like Cassibelan, Uther, Arthur, and others, 'pendragons,' because Uther Pendragon, one that was famous among them, was so called. The appellation, in fact, had nothing to do with his kingly power. A comet having appeared at his accession, on one of the beams of which was a corruscation supposed to resemble a dragon, hence Uther took a dragon for his banner (See *Tysilio's Chronicle*, p. 133), whence he was called Uther Pendragon, or Uther of the Dragon's Head. The Celtic name of the sovereigns of Britain, Welsh writers inform us, was 'Brennin Prydain Oll,' or King of all Britain.

Vortigern about twenty years afterwards, and obtained the whole. Also, it appears that after the death of Arthur, in 542, the domination paramount was again divided, Maelgwyn Gwynedd, or Maglocune, taking the domination of the northern parts of Britain; while Constantine III, Aurelius Conanus, and Vortipore, seem successively to have directed the efforts of the southern Britons against the Saxons. These sovereigns are mentioned in Gildas and Tysilio.

In regard to the point of succession, as there is no rule without exceptions, so in the instance of Aurelius Ambrosius, his brother succeeded and not his offspring. Gildas, however, (c, 25) informs us the reason; for after saying that Ambrosius was brave and adorned with numerous good qualities, he adds that his posterity had degenerated from their father, and were deficient in these last respects. Again, we may cite another instance, that of Caredig, in the year 586, (See the *Chronicle* of Tysilio and other Chronicles) who succeeded Rhun ap Maelgwyn, as king of the Britons, and not Beli, the son of the said Rhun, who was king of North Wales only.

We gather, as a general inference from all we are able to learn of these times, that the British kings, when installed on their thrones, were acknowledged by the whole of the states of the island; though these evidently continued to have their own separate sovereigns, and contributed, as should seem, such military aid only as to themselves might seem fit. There appears reason to form the opinion that the eight or nine first British sovereigns had, besides their territories in their own states, to which they more particularly belonged, other dominions which they held in their capacity as sovereigns paramount of the island. These dominions, or domains, we may judge to have laid within the boundaries of the former Roman provinces of Britannia Prima, and Flavia Cæsariensis, immediately north of it; and we may regard them to have been such tracts as had not been put by the Romans under the sway or domination of the greater reguli, of whom we have seen that they established several governments, but had been reserved, in a form more strictly provincial, in their own hands. Hence, a species of territory was readily furnished to the British sovereigns when their power came afterwards into existence. Thus, Vortigern grants the kingdom of Kent to Hengist (*Nennius*, c, 37), which he hardly could have done

had it belonged to one of the greater states ; and, according to John Rouse's authorities, Constantine of Armorica, repairs or builds the cities Caerumber, or Warwick ; Caervrongon, Worcester ; and Caerwent, *i. e.* Caer Gwent, or Winchester ; for so we may propose in emendation of Rouse. These cities would not have been either in the territories of the Dumnonii, Demetæ, Brigantes, or in the kingdom of Genounia. One of them, indeed, Caer Gwent, was in the territories of the Belgæ ; but the distinct sovereignty of that state may, from some cause which we cannot now ascertain, have devolved to the sovereign paramount. Indeed we have a proof that the British sovereigns of this era had a territory and domain in the state of the Belgæ, it being several times mentioned in Tysilio's *Chronicle* that the royal cemetery was at Stonehenge. The reader may now see the grounds, or rather some of the principal of them, on which the opinion as above has been advanced.

One point we may here take the opportunity of briefly adverting to, namely, which was the Roman capital of the island ? This seems to have been rather Eboracum, or York, than London, as this first was the chief city of Maxima Cæsariensis, a consular province, whilst London was the chief city of a presidency only. However, this argument is not infallible, as Valentia, the province immediately north of Maxima Cæsariensis, was also consular, which does not appear to have had a city of such eminency as either Londinium or Eboracum. Nor is there any decisive argument from there having been always, in the latter times of Roman domination, a large army kept at York and in the adjoining region, and but few troops at London. Episcopal rank may be some indication, though again not with certainty. The Bishop of York seems to have been highest in dignity, as among the names of the prelates who attended the Synod of Arles in the year 314, we have three from Britain, who are placed thus : "Eborius de civitate Eboracensi ; Restitutus de civitate Londinensi ; and, Adelfius de civitate coloniâ Londinensium (*i. e.* Lindinensium, or Lincoln, which was a colony). One circumstance of some weight is, that there is known to have been a palace for the emperor at York, (see Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, 8vo, 1842, pp. 62-63), while there appears to have been nothing of the kind at London. Thus this uncertain matter seems to rest. We may add the remark, that in the reign of

Vortigern, and in those of his successors, the principal cities seem to have been Vindomæ or Silchester, Caer Caradoc or Salisbury, Caer Gwent or Winchester, Verulamium and London; all which were in Britannia Prima, or in the province of Flavia.

We may now trace the successive acquisitions of the Saxons in the island, and the endeavours of the Britons to retain possession of their dominions; in which struggles a share was taken, and a part borne by the remaining fragmentary portions of the former three dominant British states. In this part of our inquiries, we begin again to have the authority of Gildas, Nennius, and Bede, in addition to that of the Chronicles, for many particulars. Paulus Diaconus also, whom we have before cited once or twice, now becomes again available.

As to the calling in of the Saxons, Nennius and the ancient chronicles all seem anxious to suggest various reasons; *i. e.* that he, Vortigern, lived in dread of the Picts, Saxons, and Romans, and of Aurelius Ambrosius, the youth who had been taken by his friends and adherents to Gaul, and was likely to be brought back as a claimant of the crown. He is represented as feeling so insecure from these sources of alarm, as to be ready to take flight, and abandon his dominions; and thus to have been fully prepared to welcome assistance from any quarter. Besides, in his line of acting, there was one intermediate step. It seems, by the chronicles, that many Picts by birth were at this time living in various parts of Britain; and Vortigern, as we have seen, had before retained a body-guard of them, who had been instrumental in the murder of Constans. His taking, therefore, a band of Saxons into his service, seems only a second experiment of the same nature as the first. Indeed a few centuries afterwards the Britons employed the same device successfully against the Saxons; as on several occasions they took the Danes into their service, when their expeditions visited the coast. This they did both in Wales and Dumnonia, and by this they were able to prolong their independence for some considerable period.

It must be allowed, however, that Vortigern's experiment was an extremely hazardous one, as the Saxons were the very enemies against whom the Romans had been endeavouring to guard the coasts of the island for the preceding 300 years: against whom they had a considerable army, and naval force constantly ready to act, under their officer, the Count of the

Saxon shore, who was a commander of high rank in the empire. It must be remembered that it was these Saxons who are mentioned as so formidable by Roman authors, as by Eutropius and Claudian, and who, it appears, by the event, were ready to overwhelm any country into which they could once gain admission, and which it should be desirable to them to possess by armed expeditions, in great force, and in an endless series. They it was who had the power of pouring in not only the surplus population and desperate adventurers of so large a country as Germany, but also of the whole of the north of Europe.

The drama which led to the subjection, expatriation, and in part extirpation of the Celtic possessors of the island, and to the establishment of one of the greatest nations upon earth, was opened by the arrival of three Saxon ships, with a hundred men in each, on the coast of Kent. They were commanded by two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, who, according to Verstegan (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, quarto, 1634, p. 116), had served in the armies of Valentinian the Third; information which apparently he had obtained from German or Belgic chronicles. These vessels were on a cruise, and intended a descent on some part of the coast, unless the shores of Gaul were their destination; but Vortigern entered into an amicable parley with Hengist, their commander, and took the whole armament into his service, intending to employ them against the Picts. Paulus Diaconus may be understood to intimate in his fourteenth book that he had the concurrence generally of the Britons in this; but the tenor of other accounts appears to be to the contrary. Having then made his arrangements for attacking the Picts, who we have seen had as early as the year 435 conquered the country as far south as the Humber, and had now overrun the county of Lincoln, and advanced as far as Stamford (see H. Huntingdon's *History*), he despatched this reinforcement to the scene of action.

Hengist, accordingly, become an ally, proceeded to the scene of hostilities, and landed, as traditionally reported, in the Estuary of the Nen, near Peterborough. This informs us that his passage hither from Kent was made by sea; a circumstance however not mentioned by historians.

Thus far as to their first transactions. As to the time of

their arrival, we find a passage in an ancient author which may not be altogether undeserving notice.

Paulus Diaconus (p. 439, edit. 1569,) describes what may be termed a double arrival of the Saxons in Britain, but which is not so in reality, but only one. The explanation appears to be that this author compiling for his work met with two accounts, verbally different, one much more at length than the other, and inserted them both.

It is very singular that Bede, in his *History*, i, 14 and 15, seems to have copied from some author who had also this double arrival, but appears to have known the statement was incorrect, and that the Saxons were not received as allies before Hengist and Horsa came with their three ships. He describes therefore this prior arrival of Paulus Diaconus, as an invitation only, which is his mode of obviating the difficulty.

It may also be noted at this place that there is an apparent but ostensibly not a real, contradiction, to the usually assigned date of the arrival of the Saxons in the year 449. This is found in the *Life of St. Germanus*, by Constantius, an ecclesiastic of Lyons, inserted in vol. iii of the *Vitæ Sanctorum* of Surius. There is here a statement that the Saxons and Picts were the opponents in the saint's celebrated victory, the so called Allaleuiatic victory from the shouts of Allaleuia, to which we are informed success was owing, and which is believed to have taken place at Mold, in Flintshire, in the year 429. He is followed in this by Paulus Diaconus himself, Bede, in his *History*, i, 20, Roger Hoveden and Nennius (the Vatican and Cambridge copies, and margin of the Norfolk). This would obviously make the arrival of the Saxons much earlier, as their alliance with the Picts was some little time subsequent to their first coming. However, the whole seems best explained, as no other than an oversight of the first writer Constantius, of Saxons and Picts, for Scots and Picts, in which he has been followed by nearly all his copyists. There is one exception, however, we should mention, Matthew of Westminster, who has the latter reading.—To return to our more immediate subject.

Having come into the presence of the enemy, whether by the valour of the two brothers, or by the confidence they inspired, or from both causes combined, the Britons defeated their opponents, who, after a few lesser contests,

retired beyond the Roman wall; nor indeed after this was their power ever so formidable as before; a result to which some settlements of the Saxons, formed a few years afterwards, on the eastern coast of the northern parts of the territories of the Brigantes, no doubt mainly contributed. Vortigern is said to have granted lands to Hengist, in Lincolnshire—"in Lindesiâ regione," as the Chronicles express it; but however this may be, the Saxons soon returned to the south, where they had Thanet given them, and a few years afterwards, on Vortigern's becoming united to Rowena, the daughter or niece of Hengist, the whole of Kent: Verstegan informs us, in his page 126, that some German writers call the name of this person Ronixa.

According to Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Miscel.* xiv), the first successes of the Saxons appear to have created a sensation at home in their native country; and Tysilio's *Chronicle* acquaints us, that eighteen other vessels, full of men, were soon despatched, as a reinforcement from Germany; and, as we learn by the context of the accounts in the Chronicles, further reinforcements kept continually arriving; at last so great an accumulation of forces naturally became very formidable to the Britons.

In five years from the landing of Hengist, or by other accounts in six years, *i.e.* in the year 454 or 455, war took place between the Britons and the Saxons: the former, under Vortimer, Vortigern's son, appointed king; though Vortigern himself did not abdicate till 464. The army of Hengist was advanced as far as the banks of the Darent, a small river, in Kent, about fifteen miles from London, where a severe engagement occurred with the Britons. On this he appears to have retreated to the river Medway, near Aylesford, where, on the opposite side of it, another sanguinary battle took place between the rival forces. We next find him withdrawn to the isle of Thanet, in the vicinity of which two further fiercely contested engagements ensued in course of the war: the one at a place named Lapis Tituli, the situation of which is not now certainly known; the other on the shores of the Wantsum; though this last is sometimes represented as a naval battle, or partially so. In the battle near Aylesford, Horsa, Hengist's brother, was killed, as also Catigern, the brother of Vortimer. According to Nennius and the British Chronicles, the Saxons now quitted the kingdom. This is supported by the Belgian Chronicles, but not so by that of the Saxons; and, according to British

authorities, the Saxons returned, on the death of Vortimer, in 468, and the re-accession of Vortigern.

The above is the account of these transactions, according to Nennius, and the tenor of Tysilio's *Chronicle*, and those other British Chronicles that follow it. There is an account, however, in Matthew of Westminster, which is highly deserving of being brought to notice. He gives a detailed, and apparently very methodical narrative, in the shape of Annals, to the years 454, 455, 456, and 460, of which we may here insert the translation and substance, without endeavouring to reconcile its discrepancies with other accounts.

"In the year 454, five years after the arrival of the Saxons, the nobles of Britain entirely deserted the king Vortigern, and unanimously raised his son Vortimer to the throne, who engaged with the Saxons, at the river Derwent, and gained the victory, and put them to flight, and Vortigern with them, who, on account of his (Saxon) wife, aided them to the best of his power. After this victory Vortimer began to put the affairs of the kingdom in order.

"A. D. 455, Vortigern and the Saxons again sought to contend with the Britons; and their bands meeting together, from every direction, at Aillsford they fought a long time very sharply. At last the burden of the battle fell against the Saxons, who quitted the field and the fight together: but the Britons followed them, slew immense numbers, and dispersed them, and Vortimer returned in triumph.

"Not long after Vortimer, with the concurrence of his brothers, Catigern and Pascent, and with the population of the whole island, proclaimed hostilities (*indixit bellum*) against the Saxons; and their forces being collected, they set the battle in array against them. Horsa, the brother of Hengist, who had been placed by him over the province of Kent, and was called king by his countrymen, charged the forces of Catigern, Vortimer's brother, with such impetuosity, that he dispersed them like dust; and afterwards overthrowing Catigern from his horse, slew him. Vortimer seeing this, rushed upon him, and killed him, and beat back his cohorts to Hengist, who had thus to bear the heat of the battle, and unable to bear the conflict, was then, for the first time, put to flight.

"A. D. 456. After the death of Horsa, Hengist was appointed by the Saxons king of Kent; in which year he is said to have fought thrice against the Britons: but unable to resist



the valour of Vortimer, he fled to the isle of Thanet, where, harassed every day with a naval combat, the Saxons secretly embarked aboard their vessels, leaving their women and children, and returned to Germany.

"A. D. 460. Vortimer being poisoned by Rowena, and buried at London, Vortigern, at the instigation of his wife, sent for Hengist and the Saxons back again." (Folio edit. 1601, p. 83.)

It has been already premised that no attempt will be made to reconcile this account with others more usually received. Indeed no satisfactory materials exist for doing so.

We cannot however dismiss this matter without the remark, that the passage in question, of Matthew of Westminster, is apparently a fragment of some early British history, now lost, which, from a comparison of the various ancient editions of Nennius, seems to have formed part of the materials used by Marcus the Anchorite, who now, by the labours of the editors of the Irish copies of that history, is clearly shown to have been its original compiler, as noted at a preceding page. For instance; it is specified in the text of the British editions of Nennius (see Stevenson's edition, p. 35, and Gunn's edition, p. 73), that the order of events is transposed, "*Primum bellum ut supradictum est,*" &c., though nothing is said of this in the Irish text, in which however there is the same transposition. In fact, the history called the History of Nennius, gives at first a general summary of events of this whole first war, and then goes back to particularise the battles of one important year. This being borne in mind, the internal evidence of the two narratives may be appealed to, that Marcus, the original compiler of the history, passing by the name of Nennius, did take much of his account from the document of which the fragment is part. Tysilio, it may be observed, whom some have wrongly supposed merely borrows from Nennius, has not the transposition adopted by Nennius and Marcus, and appears to derive his materials but little from the fragment, though he has some matter in common at the conclusion of his account.

So much for the British versions of these affairs. If we turn to the account in the Saxon Chronicle, and the same in a larger form in Henry of Huntingdon's *History*, we hardly seem to be reading details of the same transactions, so widely do they differ. An idea may be formed of this from the following reference to their statements.

According then to the Saxon Chronicle, in the year 455,

Hengist and the Saxons fought with Vortigern and the Britons, at Ægels-threp (Aylesford), and Horsa was there slain. It is added, and after that "Hengist obtained the kingdom and Æsc his son," which whether it implies a victory, or that Horsa had before the pre-eminence of the two brothers, is not explained.

Henry of Huntingdon follows the Saxon Chronicle in making the first battle at Aeilestreu, *i. e.* Aylesford. The Saxons he specifies as commanded by Hengist and Horsa, the Britons by Vortimer, Catigern, and Ambrosius.\* Catigern and Horsa are slain, and Hengist put to flight. His account is as follows :

"Anno septimo adventus Saxonum in Angliam commissum est bellum apud Aeilestreu. Principio ergo percussit Horsa aciem Catigerni tanto vigore ut ad modum pulveris dispersa prosterneretur et filium regis prostratum cecidit. Gortimer autem frater ejus vir vere strenuissimus ex obliquo aciem Horsi dirupit, et ipso Horso interfecto virorum fortissimo, reliquiae cohortis ad Hengistum fugiunt, qui cum Ambrosii cuneo invicte configebat. Totum ergo pondus praelii versum est super Hengistum, et probitate Gortimeri coarctatus cum diu perseverat non sine magno detrimento Britannorum, victus, qui nunquam fugerat, fugit. Scripserunt quidam Hengistum postea in eodem anno ter contra eos pugnasse, nec potuit resistere probitate Gortimeri, et numero Britonum ; sed semel in insulam Tenet, semel ad naves fugisse ; et pro his qui abierant in patriam misisse."

*I. e.* In the seventh year after the arrival of the Saxons in England, there was a battle at Aeilestreu. At the beginning of it Horsa attacked the battle array of Catigern with such vigour that he dispersed it like dust, and prostrated and slew the son of the king. But Gortimer, his brother, a most courageous man, assailing obliquely the division of Horsa, broke it, and Horsa himself, being slain, the remains of the cohort fled for refuge to Hengist, who was still contending for victory with the array (cuneo) of Ambrosius. The whole pressure of the contest therefore became centered upon Hengist ; and he, after contending a long time, not without great loss to the Britons, at last, constrained by the valour of Gortimer and overcome, took to flight, who had never fled before. Some have written that Hengist contended afterwards, in the same year, three

\* Aurelius Ambrosius, as a young British prince, might have been present at this battle, being at the time, as nearly as may be judged, about sixteen or seventeen years of age.

times with them, but could not withstand the valour of Gortimer and the superior numbers of the Britons, and that he fled at one time into the isle of Thanet, and at another time to his ships, and sent to Germany for those who had left him.

We now go on with the second battle, which Henry of Huntingdon gives thus:—"Anno vero sequenti (A. D. 456), regnante Leone imperatore, qui regnavit xvii annos, morbo periit flos juvenum Gortimerus, cum quo simul spes et victoria Britonum extincta est. Hengist igitur et Æsc filius suus receptis auxiliis a patriâ suâ et morte juvenis freti bello se preparant apud Creganford. Britanni vero quatuor phalanges maximas quatuor ducibus munitas fortissimis bello prostituunt. Sed cum ludum belli Britones inissent numerum Saxonum majorem solito male ferebant; recentes quippe qui supervenerant et viri electi erant, securibus et gladiis horribiliter corpora Britonum findebant, nec tamen cesserunt donec quatuor duces eorum prostratos et cæsos viderunt. Tunc vero ultra quam credi potest perterriti a Cent usque in Londoniam fugerunt, et nunquam in Cantiam postea gratiâ pugnandi venire ausi sunt. Exinde regnavit Hengist et Æsc filius suus in Cantuariâ: Regnum igitur Cantiae incepit octavo anno adventus Anglorum."

This will be in English:—"In the following year, in the days of Leo the emperor, who reigned seventeen years, Gortimer, the flower of the British youth, died of a disease, with whom at once all hope of victory was gone from the Britons. Hengist, therefore, and Æsc his son, having received succours from their country, and taking advantage of the death of this youthful leader, prepared to engage with the Britons at Creganford (Crayford). The Britons, on their side, drew up in four very large and dense bodies, commanded by four of their bravest leaders. But when they began to engage they were disconcerted at the much increased number of the Saxons, for their new reinforcements, who were picked men, cut and cleft the Britons with their swords and battle-axes, nor ceased till all their four commanders had fallen. This had a greater effect on them than can be imagined; and they fled out of Kent to London, and never ventured to come there to fight again. Then began the reign of Hengist and Æsc his son, in Canterbury, and thus the kingdom of Kent began the eighth year after the arrival of the Saxons."

A third battle is again thus described:—"Supervenientibus vero auxiliariis, post aliquantum temporis (A.D. 465). Hengistus

rex et Æsc filius suus invictissimum congregaverunt exercitum anno septemdecimo adventus eorum in Angliam; contra quos omnis Britannia viribus congregatis, duodecim phalanges nobiliter ordinatas opposuit apud Wippedesfleda. Pugnatum est diu et acriter donec Hengistus duodecim principes cuneorum prostravit, et vexillis eorum dejectis et manipulis eorum proturbatis in fugam coegit. Ipse autem multos principum suorum et gentis amisit, et quendam magnum principem qui vocabatur Wipped, ex cujus nomine locum belli illius prædicto nomine vocavit. Victoria igitur illis lacrymabilis fuit et odiosa: ita ut postea non parvo tempore nec ipse intra Britannorum fines nec Britanni in Cantiam venire præsumerent, Britannia igitur dum cessarent externa bella non cessabant civilia sed inter exterminia civitatum ab hoste dirutarum pugnabant invicem qui hostem evaserant cives."

*I.e.* Reinforcements arriving after some time, in the year 465, Hengist the king and Æsc his son gathered together an army of most valiant warriors, in the seventeenth year after their arrival in England; against which the whole force of Britain was opposed in conflict at Wippedsfleet, in twelve bodies, most admirably drawn up. The battle was a long time very sharply contested, till all the commanders of the cohorts had fallen, and their standards being displaced, and their maniples or subdivisions thrown into confusion, they were constrained to take flight. Hengist also on his side lost many of his commanders and countrymen; and in particular Wipped, a leader of great eminence, after whom he named the place of battle. The victory was therefore a mournful one to them, and not prized, so that for a long time after neither the Saxons ventured to pass within the boundaries of the Britons, nor the Britons to come into Kent. But though external war had ceased, yet civil wars raged among the Britons; so that those who had escaped from the enemy, fought among themselves, though banished from their cities, which had been destroyed by their foe.

The briefest comment on these Saxon accounts, for Huntingdon's account is evidently Saxon in its tenor and complexion, will probably be the best.\*

\* That the Archdeacon of Huntingdon compiled from a Saxon account is pretty evident: for, when he gives the transactions of the year 477, he has 'Plenting' for 'Wlencing,' which shows this name was written in the work he consulted with a Saxon initial—the Saxon W being very similar to a P.

The only one therefore of the first events which the Saxon accounts have in common with the British is the battle of Aylesford, which is seemingly the same as that described by Matthew of Westminster, and the same in its results. As to the battle of Creccanford or Crayford, both Henry of Huntingdon and the Saxon Chronicle place it after the death of Vortimer, which there seems good reason to suppose occurred about the year 468. Therefore, this event belongs to the second war between the Britons and the Saxons; and if that war broke out about the year 469, we may assign this battle to that year, on the arrival of an expedition, on a great scale, from Germany, in the Thames. The battle of Wippedsfleet, mentioned equally by the Britons, may probably have taken place the ensuing year, in one of the inlets of the Thames still nearer London. While to this battle may have succeeded the still further defeat of the Britons, mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, in 473, which will be noticed presently. Some such succession of defeats of the Britons it is necessary to supply, or understand; as their own accounts do not fill up the blank between mentioning the Saxons as driven out of Britain from Thanet, about the year 468, and their re-appearance at Old Sarum five or six years afterwards.

If Gaimar be understood rightly, and according to Fordun, the Saxon Chronicle was compiled by order of Alfred the Great, which well agrees with the literary character of that monarch. Those, therefore, who undertook this task, using probably imperfect materials for the earlier parts, may easily have erred in assigning particular events to the first contests between the Britons and Saxons, which belonged to a somewhat later period, and thus erroneous dates have become introduced. We may now revert generally to the ensuing series of British events.

If there is any faith to be given to Nennius and the British Chronicles, the successes of Vortimer were of that rapid nature, that the first contest between the Britons and Saxons was terminated by almost the second year after its commencement. This would bring us down to the years 456 or 457, according as ~~we~~ are inclined to fix the year in which the rupture first took place. We now come to a remarkable fact. About the year 457 an expedition of the Britons took place to the continent, unmentioned indeed by the British Chronicles, but recorded, or referred to by Jornandes, Gregory of Tours, Sidonius Apollinaris, and the Chronicle of Mont St. Michel,

in which it seems Vortimer must be regarded as having been the commander. Jornandes relates the facts thus: "Euricus ergo Vesegothorum rex crebram mutationem Romanorum principum cernens, Gallias suo jure nisus est occupare, quod comperiens Anthemius imperator protinus solatia Britonum postulavit. Quorum rex Rhiothimus cum duodecim millibus veniens in Biturigas civitatem oceano e navibus egressus susceptus est. Ad quos rex Vesegothorum Euricus innumerum ductans exercitum advenit, diuque pugnans Rhiothimum Britonum regem antequam Romani in ejus societate conjungerentur superant. Qui amplâ parte exercitus amissâ, cum quibus potuit fugiens, ad Burgundionum gentem vicinam Romanis in eo tempore foederatam advenit." (*Jornandes de Rebus Geticis*, xlv.) In English, this would be thus—Euric, king of the Visigoths, seeing the frequent depositions of the Roman governors, endeavoured to possess himself of (the remaining Roman part of) Gaul; which, Anthemius, the emperor, discovering, he solicited immediately the assistance of the Britons. In consequence of which, the British king, Rhiothimus, arrived with twelve thousand men, and disembarking from the ocean, out of his ships, was received in the state of the Bituriges. Euric, however, the king of the Visigoths, brought a very large army against him, and fighting a long time, defeated Rhiothimus, king of the Britons, before his Roman allies could arrive. He having lost a large part of his army, and being put to flight, collected as many as he could of the remainder, and sought refuge in the neighbouring kingdom of the Burgundians, at that time in alliance with the Romans.

Briefly it may be observed, that here, considering the latitude with which Celtic names were accustomed to be transferred into the Latin, Rhiothimus seems intended for Gwertimerus, that is Vortimer. Even in the present day we write the word in some considerable variety, from the Welch Gwrthevyr to Wortimer and Vortimer. Besides, the title "king of the Britons" seems precisely to designate the king paramount of the Britons, which Vortimer was. After the first war with the Saxons he might have been at liberty to undertake this expedition; and it might have been considered good policy to endeavour to co-operate with the Romans against the barbarians. Vortimer was a contemporary with Anthemius, and the date preferably assigned to the expedition,

that is 457 or a few years afterwards, would very well correspond. It has been suggested that Rhiothimus might have been a king of the Armorican Britons, but the statement that he disembarked from the ocean out of his ships seems to disannul this idea. Sidonius Apollinaris, in his *Epistles*, i, 7, in alluding incidentally to this event, acquaints us that the Britons were on the Loire when they were attacked—"Britannos super Ligerim sitos." Accordingly we find that the state of the Bituriges Cubi was bounded on the north by the Loire. The other state of this people, the Bituriges Vibisci, laid on the sea coast. We may add that Vortimer, thus frustated in his expedition, probably soon returned home with the remnant of his armament.

The death of Vortimer seems best assigned to about the year 464. The Chronicles assert it was by poison, by the procurement of Vortigern's Saxon wife Rowena. However this may have been, it seems that Vortigern had not wholly fallen in the estimation of the Britons, for it appears undoubted, from the Chronicles and Triads, that he again ascended the British throne, as king paramount, though he appears, by no means, to have had the unanimous good wishes of his countrymen. Fabian informs us that he found it recorded in one of the old Chronicles which he used in compiling his history, that he was confined, during the period of his abdication, in the city of Caerleon, which he interprets as Chester, but which according to John Rouse's *Chronicle*, p. 53, was probably Warwick.

Soon after this we find Aurelius Ambrosius, who, it may be recollected, was the son of Constantine, and had retired to Gaul, on the stage of political events in Britain. According to Nennius, c. 42, Vortigern ceded to him the western provinces of Britain, which implies the termination of hostilities or disputes between them; and it appears by the context of the Chronicles, that he was at that time or soon afterwards on the throne of Dumnonia. We may, in attempting as far as possible an approximation, assign the treaty between Vortigern and Aurelius to about the year 469.

Up to this time there is no mention, for several years, of the Saxons, whether expelled from the island or not, in History or Chronicle; but now they appear again on the scene. When the Chronicles re-mention them, they appear to have collected a very great force from Germany, and Vortigern is

now their opponent; but what occurred in the field is not notified, except the battles of Crayford and Wippedsflete, which have been described before, and of which the date is somewhat uncertain, belong to this period, and except that the Saxon Chronicle records a severe defeat and overthrow sustained by the Britons in the year 473.

This date is somewhat important to our purpose, since about this time we begin to find mention of the Saxons in the heart of Wiltshire, who, when last we heard of them in the British Chronicles, were fugitives from the island, or merely occupying the extremity of Kent. The victory, according to the Saxon Chronicle and Ethelwerd, must have been one of a very decisive nature. We may add that it was probably in this invasion, that the Saxons made the league with the Picts, as mentioned by Bede in his *History*, i, 15, as we soon after this hear of the leaders of the Britons carrying on hostilities in the northern part of Britain. That writer, however, does not precisely say at what time the said league was made.

The leaders of the Saxons, and the leaders of the Britons, now proposed to settle their differences by treaty instead of battle; and agreed to meet at the Circle of Stonehenge, on May-day, the great feast of the Britons, each party to bring a retinue, unarmed. But the Saxons, either from precaution or treachery, took with them knives concealed in their hose, or according to others, in their garments; and in a fray, casual or designed, slaughtered to the number of 300, or as some of the chronicles say of 460 of the nobles, or most influential persons among the Britons.

This tragical affair will always remain a somewhat unexplained transaction: but its reality is sufficiently attested by the strong feeling of indignation with which it is mentioned in the poems of numerous Welch bards. Verstegan asserts in his work, p. 130, that such a fray had before taken place in a conference between the Saxons and Thuringians; but that, from mutual distrust, they had both come to the place of meeting with concealed arms; so that on the occurrence of the outbreak no such catastrophe ensued. He thus attempts a justification, which, as this event is not mentioned by the Saxon authors, can be only considered a rather insufficient one.

Vortigern's life was spared in the massacre in which so many others were destroyed; and he obtained his liberty on condition of his giving up Essex, Middlesex, and Sussex



(*Nennius* c. 46). Whither Vortigern retired is not mentioned, for his retreat to Wales appears to have been at a later period, towards the end of his life, about eight years after this slaughter; which may be assigned to the year 473.

There does not appear proof in the Chronicles that the Saxons occupied more of the ceded districts than Middlesex, whence they advanced a few years afterwards to Mount Badon, *i. e.* Bath, in Somersetshire, where they were defeated by Aurelius Ambrosius. The Britons seem for the present to have undertaken no enterprise. Indeed their military force is said to have been reduced to 7000 men. (See Evans's *Mirror*, p. 120).

Hitherto the expeditions of the Saxons had been directed to Kent: but now one was fitted out in the north of Germany against Sussex. This was under the direction of Ella, with whom were his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa. According to the Saxon Chronicle, they landed at Cymenes Ore, on that coast, in the year 477, defeating the Britons who opposed them; and in the course of a few succeeding years became more and more established in this quarter along the coast. Thus commencing what was afterwards called the kingdom of the South Saxons.

At this period Aurelius Ambrosius comes again into notice. We have heard of him before in Britain on two several occasions. Once, according to Henry of Huntingdon, as taking part in the battle of Aylesford; and again, at the interval of some years afterwards (see the preceding page 57), as making a kind of division of power with Vortigern. Subsequent to this he had been in Armorica, and wherever it was acquired, seems to have had much reputation as a commander, as well as being popular for his good qualities. He now was able to collect a force of 10,000 men in Armorica, with which he landed at Totness to assist his countrymen. He marched in the first instance against Vortigern, then at his castle of Goronwy in his own lordship of Erging and Euas in Radnorshire. He besieged him there, and having applied fire, after having failed to beat down the walls, the fortress was consumed, and Vortigern perished in it. After this, at the interval of some years, the battle of Maes Beli and the capture and death of Hengist follow in the Chronicles; the last of which events, however, is considered of very doubtful authenticity. As to the family of the late British king; it is mentioned in Nennius,

c. 48, that Aurelius allowed to Pascent, his son, his family domains and possessions; whose descendants remained for several centuries afterwards. (*Ibid.* c. 49.)

Having thus seen the end of Vortigern, a personage so important as connected with the early history of the Anglo-Saxon race, and yet one of whom so little is known, or rather authentically known, we may now recapitulate in a short summary such particulars as seem most authentic concerning him. These we may give as follows: (1) That two factions existed in the country, one Roman and the other British, at the time he called in the Saxons, and that he represented the British faction. (2) That he at one time became the tool of the Saxons, and joined them in their war against the Britons. (3) That he was at another time himself at war with the Saxons. (4) That he was twice at war with Aurelius Ambrosius, with whom he divided the sovereignty of Britain. (5) That he was at war, or at great variance, at one time with his son Vortimer, on conclusion of which hostilities or disputes he abdicated in his favour. (6) That he was re-elected Pendragon, or sovereign paramount, after his said son Vortimer's death, which power he retained for thirteen years. (7) That towards the end of that time he lost the support of the Britons. And (8) That he perished in his second contest with Aurelius.

The marriage with the daughter or niece of Hengist might probably be added to the list with truth; but the political bias usually assigned to this alliance may possibly be overrated. Of all that is related of him, the only circumstance in his favour is that of his re-election to the throne. The time of his death, it may be here added, is assigned by David Powel, Peter Roberts, Owen Pughe, and Robert Williams, to the year 481, though there seems no definite reason why it might not have occurred several years before, or several years afterwards. Assuming it to have been 481, this family possessed the sovereign power for thirty-three years.

To return to Ambrosius. The context of the British Chronicles, and the whole circle of Welch literature, plainly show that, about this time, a new line of policy began to be adopted by the Britons; the forming alliances with the Scots of the north of the island, or perhaps with those who, living among the Scots, passed for parts and portions of that people. This, which is only implied in the British Chronicles, is plainly asserted in those of Scotland, which say that Ambrosius sought

and made such alliances. (See also Buchanan's *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, p. 143.)

We may consider Ambrosius to have been occupied in forming these northern alliances, and in adopting measures of defence for his kingdom, from the year 481 to the year 485, when we again hear of him. In that year he appears to have been impressed with the necessity of making a vigorous attack on the Saxons now established in great force in Sussex, and to endeavour to dislodge them. He seems therefore to have applied himself in earnest to the work; and, leading forth the rulers of the various states of the island and their forces, attacked the Saxons under Ella, their king, at Mercedeshurne, a place supposed to have been on the coast of Sussex. The battle seems only to have been productive of great slaughter, on either side, and is mentioned by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Henry of Huntingdon, and Matthew of Westminster: the last naming Aurelius Ambrosius as commander of the Britons. Henry of Huntingdon, who gives the longest account, informs us that both armies at length quitted the field, and that Ella sent to Germany for reinforcements. Aurelius Ambrosius seems to have appealed to arms no more in this quarter; and the unfortunate inhabitants of this region struggled unavailingly with the growing power of the Saxons, to the year 491, when their capital city, Anderida, the modern Pevensea, was taken by assault, and all the inhabitants put to the sword, as is described, at some length, by Henry of Huntingdon; and thus fell the state of the Regni, the next which, after that of the Cantii, came absolutely into the power of the Saxons. As to the former cession, made some years previously by Vortigern, which has been mentioned at a shortly preceding page, it does not appear how much of it was retained.

The victory of Maes Beli, which we may now again recur to, and the successes of Aurelius Ambrosius over the Saxons north of the Humber, are to be assigned to the year 487, according to Matthew of Westminster. Tysilio's *Chronicle*, and other accounts, purely British, have it that Hengist was taken at this juncture by Aurelius, and put to death; a statement not authorised by the Saxon Chronicle; and apparently originating in a mistake, which admits of being explained. With this preliminary, we may proceed to show, as nearly as may be, what there is reason to suppose really occurred in this quarter.

The alliance of Aurelius Ambrosius with the Caledonians has been before alluded to: and the *History* of Nennius informs us, c. 38, of the expeditions of Ohta and Ebissa, sons or nephews of Hengist, to the north of Britain. Aurelius therefore seems to have been acting against these with a large body of troops on the one hand, and Hengist to have come to the assistance of his countrymen on the other; the place of contest being near Coningsbury Castle, north of the Humber. Now Matthew of Westminster, in his *History*, fol. 1570, p. 173, seems to give the account of these transactions very plainly and clearly, placing them in the year 487. According to him, in the battle which occurred at a plain called Maes Beli, Aurelius defeated the whole united force of the Saxons, who had at first calculated on surprising the army of the Britons, as they entered upon the plain. The slaughter on both sides is described as great, and the discomfiture of the Saxons in the end as very complete. Hengist and his troops retreated to Caercenan, or Coningsborough; but fearing to be beleaguered in the fortress there, and ultimately taken, they continued their flight, the Britons following, and beheading all the fugitives they overtook on the road. Hence the story of capturing and beheading Hengist seems to have been concocted; which Matthew of Westminster, finding in a British Chronicle, puts down two years later, assigning it to the year 489; his apparent reason being because the intermediate year was occupied by other events. His first account was apparently given from an authentic source. He adds that, in the year 490, Aurelius, with his army, compelled Ohta and Ebissa to submit, but allowed them to settle in the northern parts of the kingdom. It is very possible indeed that the war Aurelius carried on in the northern parts of Britain, commencing with the battle of Maes Beli, may not have concluded till this year, and these contests of Aurelius in the north of the kingdom may probably have been the true cause of his not having been able to aid the Britons at Anderida, in their struggle against Ella.

The next authentic mention of Aurelius Ambrosius appears to be the great battle he gained at Mount Badon, that is, at Bath. Of this battle we happen to have the exact date given us in a very remarkable passage of Gildas, which we may here transcribe. “Ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes vincebant. . . . usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis,

qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur, novissimæque ferme de furciferis non minimæ stragis, quique quadragesimus quartus, ut novi oritur annus, mense jam primo emenso, qui jam et mææ nativitatis est." (*Historia*, c. 26.) In English.—"From that time (*i.e.* from the time when Aurelius Ambrosius assumed the sovereignty) now our side, now the enemy, had the advantage; until the year of the siege of Mount Badon, situated near the mouth of the Severn, almost the last, and one of the greatest slaughters of the marauders; and which was as I know, when the forty-fourth year had begun, one month of it being elapsed; which also is the year of my nativity." According to this, the forty-fourth year having begun, and one month of it elapsed, the battle of Mount Badon was forty-three years and one month after the arrival of the Saxons,\* which having been in the year 449, consequently this event is to be placed in 492.

Here, it will be observed, that Gildas expresses that the career of Aurelius had been chequered by successes and reverses up to this battle. He may clearly be understood to say, that he had not obtained so great a victory before; and as Gildas wrote after the close of the reign of Arthur, and as he says it was almost the last great victory which had been obtained up to the time when he wrote, consequently Aurelius had not more than once or twice obtained eminent success in his contests with the enemy. Further as to this battle, whether or not the Saxons were surprised while carrying on the siege of the place, they seem to have sustained great loss on this occasion. At any rate we may judge the victory was very great, as London, which we may regard, was at this time in the hands of the Saxons, appears to have been recovered, and according to the Chronicles remained in possession of the Britons many years afterwards. (See Roberts' *Tysilio*, pp. 140, 173.)

The battle of Mount Badon is most usually ascribed as one of Arthur's twelve victories, but quite erroneously. In the

\* If the construction of this passage be closely attended to, there can scarcely be a doubt entertained on the subject. The 'quique' of the Latin must apply to the preceding 'usque annum;' and the writer in saying that the year of the battle of Mount Badon, the year of his birth, was the forty-fourth that arose, or ensued in due course, plainly styles it the forty-fourth from some epoch of importance, which the context shows was the coming of the Saxons. It seems a very forced construction to understand that the forty-fourth year up to the time of the author's writing was meant.

first place the date given by Gildas of the year 492 altogether disagrees. In the usual copies of Nennius it is put down as Arthur's twelfth victory; but it is singular that in the Irish Nennius it is omitted. In the Chronicle of Tysilio (see Roberts' edition, p. 141), instead of Mount Badon, as the scene of this last event, one copy of good authority has *Caer Vyddau*, i.e. Silchester, quite a different place. The explanation therefore seems to be, that Arthur gained a victory over the Saxons at *Caer Vyddau*, and that it has been subsequently confused with the victory of Aurelius at Mount Badon.

Nennius informs us that in the year 493, which was the one immediately ensuing to the battle of Mount Badon, civil war occurred between Guitolinus and Ambrosius when the battle of Guoloph was fought. This event he places twelve years after the conclusion of the reign of Vortigern (c. 66). Particulars not being mentioned, there is scarcely light sufficient to elucidate the subject; but if Guoloph be Whellep Castle, near Kirby Thore in Westmoreland, we have some intimation that the civil war was in that quarter. Consequently, Guitolinus might have been a prince of the Cumbri, one of the ancient British states, who, having from some cause taken arms against the king paramount, was here vanquished in battle. This civil war, it may be remarked, is not mentioned in Gunn's edition of Nennius, nor in the Dublin edition. It may be added that Castle Whellep, where, according to Camden in his *Britannia*, p. 625, there are numerous foundations indicating a former town, is supposed by Gale, in his *Commentary on Antoninus*, p. 118, to have been the Galatum of Ptolemy, and the Galacum of Antoninus.

Having thus restored some portion of the true history of Ambrosius, we may notice the concluding part of his reign, as far as imperfect information can be found respecting it.

The peace called the peace of Ambrosius (see Roberts' *Tysilio*, p. 126) now appears to have ensued. Ambrosius is represented as employing this period in re-edifying the churches, amending the laws and restoring lands unjustly seized. The forming the colossal colonnade at Stonehenge is also attributed to him at this time, and appears to rest on data furnished too abundantly by the Welch poets to admit of doubt. Britain now had risen to considerable power, allowing for the drawbacks of the Saxon acquisitions. A victorious chief was at the head of the government, and the resources of

the country appeared to have been improving, which is testified by works of magnificence having been undertaken. There was, however, another drawback; namely, that the offspring of Ambrosius, owing to the neglect of education in these turbulent times, or from some other cause, had become degenerate, as has been noticed at a preceding page, and, as we infer, unworthy to succeed. This appears to have been somewhat compensated in the person of his brother Uther, who, according to the *Chronicles*, was a good commander and ruler.

We have already assigned a reason, at a preceding page, on account of which Aurelius may have been prevented marching to the succour of the Regni, then reduced to great extremities by the Saxon leader, Ella, besieging Anderida; namely his wars in the north of Britain. We may now add, that afterwards he probably considered the Saxons too strong to be attacked with success in their new locations in that quarter; and it may be further noted, that the Saxons gradually became very firmly established in those parts.

A new invasion now took place. Cerdic and Cynric, his son, two Saxon commanders of those times, arrived in the year 495 on the coast of Hampshire, with five ships full of adventurers like themselves; and, landing at a place called Cerdices-ore, or Cerdic's shore, were fiercely attacked by the Britons of the neighbourhood the same day, whom they as firmly repulsed. We find an account in Henry of Huntingdon's history, in which we are informed that the Saxons having made good their landing established themselves more and more in that district, though not without frequent battles. Six years after this, in the year 501, Port arrived, and his two sons Beda and Megla, landing at Portsmouth. They are described as having two very large ships, and, as in the former instance, they were attacked very impetuously at first, but they drove off the Britons, and slew their commander, a noble youth of the neighbourhood. (See H. Huntingdon's *History*, and the *Saxon Chronicle*.)

It may be easily imagined that all this time the Saxons received frequent and very numerous reinforcements, but it was not till the year 504, some considerable period after these new invasions had commenced, that Aurelius Ambrosius applied himself in earnest to repel them; that is, as far as the brief accounts come down to us inform us. Henry of Hunt-

ingdon, and the Saxon Chronicle, assign indeed a later period, which it will be seen we correct at an ensuing page. In that year then he collected a very large army of the Britons to march against the new comers, and the intelligence of this being spread, the Saxons on their part obtained succours from Æsc, in Kent, son of Hengist who was now dead, Ella in Sussex, and Port, the neighbouring Saxon power, lately established in Hampshire. We have the detail of these events in Henry of Huntingdon's *History*, who however speaks of Aurelius Ambrosius under the name of Natanleod, or as the manuscript copies incorrectly have it, Nazaleod. He acquaints us that when the battle occurred, the Saxon army was drawn up in two wings, whereof the right, commanded by Cerdic himself, was the strongest. Aurelius attacked this right wing with all his forces, and the Saxons it seems received this attack without altering their order of battle. In the result the right wing was broken, and driven off the field with very great slaughter; but a sufficient reserve not having been provided, or some other mistake occurring in the confusion, the Saxons in their turn attacked the conquering force in the rear, with their left wing, when a second engagement occurred, more desperate than the first. The tide of victory was thus turned; Aurelius himself was killed with 5000 men, and the remainder of his forces saved themselves by retreat or flight. After which we are told peace ensued for several years.

It seems doubted by many writers on very insufficient grounds, that Natanleod is the same person as Ambrosius, some brief passing remark on this point may therefore possibly be useful.

In reference then to the name Natan, Naitan, or Nectan, it was not uncommon among the Britons and Picts (see *Bede*, v, 21, and Ritson's *Annals*, i, p. 186): and there is but little doubt that Aurelius Ambrosius, or Ambrosius Aurelianus, as he is sometimes otherwise styled, had besides those two appellations, some distinct family name. We find him called Emmrys Weledig in the British tongue. Here Emmrys is the British form of Ambrosius, his baptismal name after St. Ambrose of Milan, and Weledig or Wledig is merely an epithet, having the meaning of illustrious, according to the best Welsh scholars. Therefore, as far as regards the British form, his family or personal name still remains to be sought. It is nearly the same with his Roman appellation, for if he were



of a Roman family, as asserted by Gildas, c. 25, which is supported by his reputed descent from Asclepiodotus, the Alysgapitulus, or Ælius Capitolinus of Tysilio (see Roberts' edition p. 59), he would have had necessarily his nomen, prænomen, cognomen, and agnomen, according to Roman form; of which four designations his name Aurelius, or Aurelianus, could only have been one; and Ambrosius, as said before, was his baptismal name. There is therefore certainly some other designation to be supplied, and it is not easy to see what forbids the same to have been Naitan, or Nectan, as in the Saxon Chronicle, and Henry of Huntingdon's *History*. The termination "leod," is merely the same as Weledig, or Wledig, signifying, as before said, illustrious, and applied to this distinguished warrior.

Further it may be added, we have a species of historical evidence of the identity of Aurelius and Natanleod; for though the British chronicles agree unanimously that he was poisoned by a Saxon, yet we find it differently stated in Paulus Diaconus, a writer of better authority in this matter, who gives the following account of him. That he assumed the chief rule in the endeavour to retrieve the affairs of his country, and often overthrew the powerful armies of its German enemies, till at last he was slain by them upon the plains of Salisbury. Here appears to be the evidence we require, for it appears, by the context of the account in Henry of Huntingdon, and the Saxon Chronicle, that the battle was fought at no great distance from Salisbury Plain, and perhaps might have been fought upon the plain itself; though the precise spot on which it took place is not mentioned.

We have thus brought down our account of the struggles of the British States against their invaders, to the death of Ambrosius, who, from the imperfect notices we are able to obtain of his acts and deeds, seems to have been one of the greatest characters the island ever produced. When he died, in the year 504, he must have been, according to the best data we possess, about 66 years of age. His death is placed four years later by Henry of Huntingdon and the Saxon Chronicle; but as a comet is recorded to have appeared at the accession of his successor, which by the best accounts is assigned to the year 504, the chronicle and the history may be corrected accordingly. Likewise, in corroboration of his age, Henry of Huntingdon speaks of him as one of the three

commanders against the Saxons at the battle of Aylesford, as far back as the year 456. This we have before noted, and also that were the young prince present at the battle he might, by a kind of courtesy of history, have been considered one of the commanders.

Uther Pendragon now became sovereign paramount. He received his surname from the comet, the appearance of which at the time of his accession we have before mentioned, and which was supposed to resemble a dragon in form; whence he took a dragon for his banner, and was called Uther Pendragon, or Uther of the dragon's head. As to his acts, we hear of Uther in Tysilio's Chronicle, engaging the Saxons at York and Verulam, and defeating Pascent, Vortigern's son, who had landed in Britain, having obtained some forces from the Irish, and now affected the sovereignty; which indeed he had done in the conclusion of the late reign, under the sway of Ambrosius. We also hear of him as making a circuit of the northern parts of his dominions, and of his arranging affairs at Alcluyd, as also of his being at Winchester. It happens however that the only authentic account of transactions in his reign, is that in Henry of Huntingdon's *History*, and in a shorter form in the Saxon Chronicle. The event there recorded took place, as appears by the context, within a short distance of Salisbury and Winchester, and the efforts of the monarch were directed to expel the West Saxons from their newly acquired possessions. We will give the account as in the former of these two sources; and as the historian furnishes us with a narrative somewhat connected, we will, by way of anticipation, carry it down to the year 556, though that date is considerably later, not only than the termination of his own reign, but also than that of Arthur, his successor.

We may remark respecting this narrative, that Henry of Huntingdon seems, from internal evidence, to have taken it from the original Saxon Chronicle, which in all manuscripts now extant only exists in a very abridged form, in the earlier part of it. Allowance must be of course made in reading the statements of the account, that the writer was a Saxon.

"In the sixth year after the said battle (that in which Ambrosius was killed, consequently in the year 510) the nephews of Cerdic, Stuf, and Wihtgar came to Cerdices-ore with three ships, and in the battle which ensued the British chiefs set out their forces in a most orderly array according to the

rules of war, with a part of them on the hills, whilst a part advanced with great circumspection on the lower grounds. It was the early morning, and as the sun rose its beams reflected on their shields ornamented with gilding, the hills looked bright, and the air round them glittered, so that the Saxons advanced in dread; but when the battle was joined the valour of the Britons failed, so that victory shewed itself on the side of the Saxons, and that those leaders acquired much territory, and the power of Cerdic was greatly increased."

Against the following the date of A.D. 519 is placed, but possibly an earlier should be assigned:—"Cerdic had reigned seventeen years in West-Sexe, when the most powerful chiefs of the Britons engaged in hostilities against him. Being engaged in battle, both sides contended stoutly and obstinately until the day began to decline, when the Saxons obtained a victory, and the defeat and loss of the Britons would have been much greater but from the want of daylight. The fame of Cerdic after this increased, etc., and Cerdic became King of the West Saxons.

"Cerdic and Kinric, his son, fought again against the Britons at Cerdicsford in the ninth year of his reign (as King of the West Saxons) in the year 527, and there was a great slaughter on either side. At that time there were numerous and frequent arrivals from Germany, and Mercia and East Anglia were occupied; but those parts were not yet reduced under one king, for many leaders strove eagerly to occupy various districts, hence there were innumerable battles; but the names of the leaders, because they were so many, are not handed down.

"A.D. 530. Cerdic and Kinric his son, having collected a very large force, invaded the Isle of Wight, and having gained a battle, slaughtered immense numbers of the enemies at Wit-garesburg (Carisbrooke Castle), in the thirteenth year of his reign. They gave this island, which by the Romans was called Vecta, four years afterwards to Stuf and Wihtgar, nephews of Cerdic.

"A.D. 552. Kinric, the king, in the 18th year of his reign, fought against the Britons, who had come with a very great army as far as Salesbirig. He having summoned assistance from all quarters, contended with them, most victoriously, and put to flight and dispersed their numerous forces.

"A.D. 556. Kinric in the 22d year of his reign, and Cheavlyn, his son, fought again against the Britons. The

battle was of this kind :—The Britons, as if to remedy the discomfitures in war they had now sustained for five years, having collected their warriors, well armed and arranged in cohorts, set their battle in array at Banbury. They divided their force into nine bodies,—an arrangement very convenient in battle,—three of them ranged in front, three in the middle, and three in the rear, their commanders with them. These were covered in front with archers, light armed troops, and horse, in the Roman manner. The Saxons, however, boldly attacked them in one dense mass ; and each party having closed and broken their lances, they fought with swords till daylight declined, the victory remaining doubtful. Nor was this so wonderful, as they were men of the greatest stature, vigour, and courage ; whilst in our time, one side or other always gives way at the first shock of armies ; the stature, vigour, and courage of men being less.”

The foregoing extracts will give some idea of the struggle which now went on in various parts of Britain, and of the reluctance with which the Britons yielded to a foreign yoke. They appear to show that the ancient Britons had a considerable acquaintance with the art of war, that they were well armed ; and, at times, strictly observed Roman tactics.

To return to Uther Pendragon, many other battles with the Saxons occurred, without doubt, in his reign, besides the one of which we are informed in Henry of Huntingdon's narrative, which happens to be more particularly related. We hear, as has been already notified of his battles at York and Verulam, but the details are rather vague. To conclude with what is known further of this sovereign, we may observe that he is reputed to have died in the year 517 ; being said in the British Chronicles to have been poisoned by the Saxons. (See Robert's *Tysilio*, p. 138.) But as he was the son of Constantine of Armorica and the brother of Aurelius, this circumstance shows that he was probably above 75 years of age.

Arthur, his son, succeeded him as king of the Britons, who is usually reputed to have been the greatest of the British warriors. Unfortunately he is not mentioned in any classical author, and by no one having strictly pretensions to belong to the historical class, except Nennius ; so that his deeds being only recorded in the work of this writer, and in the British Chronicles, many, even eminent men, have doubted the reality of his existence, and have regarded him as a mere mytholo-

gical personage. The real state of the case seems to be, that he very early, probably within a century or a century and a half afterwards, became the subject of historical romance, and that from the attractive nature of such works, more correct accounts were in course of time superseded. We have an instance somewhat in point in Charlemagne, of whom, and his peers, the French romances recounted many tales. But Charlemagne had Eginhart, one of his ministers, to record authentically his acts and real existence, an advantage which was only imperfectly supplied to Arthur by Nennius. There certainly does not appear any great improbability to a person who may trace the events of the age in which Arthur lived, that a war like that between the Britons and Saxons, which, with intervals excepted, had continued sixty years, should produce eminent commanders. Nennius is supported by the literature of the Welch, as to the reality of there having been such a person as Arthur: he is mentioned also in the Armorican Chronicle of Mont St. Michel. And certainly it may be allowable to ask, if Arthur were not the sovereign paramount of the Britons from A.D. 517 to A.D. 542, what other person was? With this preamble we may make a brief remark or two on Arthur's career.

The great connection which the sovereigns paramount cultivated with the north of Britain, and which may be traced as early as the reign of Ambrosius, now becomes more evidenced.

This connection was not confined to political relations, but extended also to ties of consanguinity. Arthur's sister, and others of his family, became allied with the Picts, Scots, and Northern Britons. It may easily be imagined that thus most important aid was obtained, both in the numerous hardy warriors added to the British ranks, as also in the confidence inspired. Arthur seems to have preferred acting in conjunction with the Britons of the north rather than with those of the south, which is easily seen by referring to the names of the twelve great victories which are attributed to him, which are recorded thus:—1. The first at the mouth of the river Glein. 2, 3, 4, 5. Battles on the river Douglas, in the country of Linnuis. 6. A battle on the river Lusas, or Bassas. 7. A battle in the Caledonian wood, called, in the British tongue, Cath coit Celidon. 8. A battle near the Castle Guinnion. 9. A battle in the city of the Legion, called in the British tongue Cair Lion. 10. A battle on the shores of the river

Trat Treuroit. 11. A battle on the mountain Breguoin. 12. A battle at Caer Vyddau. Here the greater number of these battles, though there may be much difficulty in ascertaining the precise places of some, are always assigned to the north of England. Indeed it is singular, as applying to the twelve battles above mentioned, that he does not appear to have fought one of them against the West or South Saxons, or those of Kent, that is, no battle within the limits of those kingdoms. This valiant commander, having the co-operation of the Britons of Caledonia, had certainly more favourable opportunities of engaging with the roving bands of Saxons endeavouring to form new settlements, in what is now called the North of England, than he would have had in attacking them in those territories where they had been longest established. This remark, perhaps, may be a little explanatory of the real feature of affairs at that time. We may infer that the Saxons were too strong in any of their first formed kingdoms to be attacked with advantage by the Britons, and that rather it was thus the best policy to endeavour to prevent them from extending their limits. The British Chronicles seem to assign to Arthur much generalship as well as valour; and it is remarkable that one of them ascribes his gaining some of his victories to his dexterous management of a large body of cavalry, which, when the armies were engaged, he was accustomed to bring round into the enemies' rear.

As to his 9th and 12th battles. There were three places called the city of the Legion: Chester, Caerleon on the Usk, and Warwick. The Caerleon of Arthur's victory was, probably, the last. Tysilio, or rather one manuscript of the Chronicle (see Roberts' *Tysilio*, p. 141), places the 12th battle at Caer Vyddau or Silchester, as before observed, and not at Mount Badon or Bath, which is more conformable to the remark of Henry of Huntingdon in his *History*, that in his time, the names of the places where Arthur's victories were gained, were all of them unknown, which could not have been the case if one of them had been obtained at Bath. His words are "Quæ tamen omnia loca nostræ ætati incognita sunt," *i.e.* "all which places, namely, his fields of battle, are unknown in our age."

After this last battle he appears to have come to the south of England. His sojourn in Armorica ensued, and his fabulous exploits there; the whole drama of his life concluding

with his return to Britain, his death, in battle with his cousin and rival Mordred, who had become the ally of the Saxons, and his burial at Glastonbury.

The services then of Arthur for his country, according to common reputation, were, checking the Saxons in the northern parts of Britain, as has been noted, and gaining three important battles in the midland parts of the island; which three said contests are considered in these pages as best placed at Warwick, Lincoln, and Silchester. It may be noted that Arthur is mentioned in Caradoc of Lancarvan's *Life of Gildas*, c. 5 and 6, during the time he was in the southern part of Britain. He is therein described as besieging a rival in Glastonbury, and engaged in other transactions not easily reconcilable to the usual accounts.

The wars of the Saxons in Britain, somewhat like those of the Europeans in India in modern times, had now become an old and long-standing affair. The historian Hume seems to think, in the rather rapid glances which he threw over the events of these times, that scarcely ever a similar war had occurred between two nations. (See his *History of England*, 8vo, 1767, vol. i, p. 27.) Some few remarks seem therefore required to analyse its peculiar character; which indeed will be found already much illustrated by many of the events which have been described.

A very unfavourable idea is frequently formed of the Britons of this period, as well as with regard to their national polity, as in respect to their military organisation. The confusion which prevailed in the island when the Romans left, appears to have occasioned this idea, conjoined with some other circumstances; as the indifferent character of their king, Vortigern, whom they installed in power, their petitions to the Romans for aid against the Picts, instead of depending on themselves, their calling in the Saxons, and the general ill success of their wars. It is difficult indeed to vindicate the Britons on several of these points; but in military affairs they seem always to have acted worthy of their long services in the Roman armies. In proof of this we need but note the obstinate contests between them and their assailants, mentioned in the Chronicles, and the scientific array of their forces, which Henry of Huntingdon records in several of their engagements with the Saxons, for which we may refer to our former pages. He sometimes expressly adds, that they adopted

Roman tactics. It is true indeed they were, in the majority of instances, defeated; but our informant just mentioned, with whom it is rather a feature to enter into details, acquaints us the reason: *i. e.* that the Saxons usually bore down opposition before them, by a simultaneous charge in dense masses, which won the day. The larger frames, and superior bodily strength of the Saxons seem to have told on these occasions. And we must view the invading forces as having been a selection of the ablest men, and most daring combatants of so vast a population as that of ancient Germany.\* Hence we may easily understand that the Britons, without any disparagement to their valour, patriotism, or military skill, might often be obliged to yield before them. We may thus comprehend, without difficulty, that there might be an adequate cause for their being at length overcome by the never-ceasing immigrations, and the continual reinforcements of their assailants. The Britons were in the position of a smaller state, attacked in constant succession by armies composed of soldiers of fortune, and adventurers from a larger state; and thus it is not surprising that they should fall. There was perhaps never a country on which such continued multitudes of desperadoes, naval and military, were let loose, as now were poured forth on this devoted island of ancient Britain. If any still disparage the Britons for their ill success, it must be from ideas formed from the present colossal power of the island, and not from its former state and capabilities.

In reference to the British system of tactics in these times. It seems they retained the form of the Roman cohort, as appears from some of the passages in Henry of Huntingdon, of which extracts have been given; but there is no reason to suppose that they adopted that of the Roman legion. They are mentioned several times by the author just referred to, as drawing up in large divisions; but there is no reason to suppose that those divisions were legions. Neither do they nor their opponents, the Saxons, appear to have continued the Roman custom of intrenching each night when they took the field, as there is no allusion to it in extant accounts. The

\* Strictly speaking, the Saxons came from Holstein and the parts to the north of the Rhine; but from the context of the accounts in Nennius and the Chronicles, it appears that the expeditions to Britain excited the cupidity of many of the Germans, as also from these last that the Danes and Scandinavians came to the fray.



conquerors of the world, who were patient and pains-taking in military affairs, probably owed much of their success to the confidence which this practice gave; but the harassing and almost insupportable toils it imposed on the soldiery who had to carry the stakes and intrenching tools with them on their marches, seem to have caused its discontinuance; and the only fortified works of either nation at this era appear to have been those of their towns and fortresses. For attacking these, there is but little doubt that both sides had their warlike engines, being in use on the continent in those times, derived from earlier ages.

There is one point, the calamitous nature of these wars, in which writers for the most part, from Gildas and Nennius downwards, have been pretty well agreed. The statistics of this contest were, that the Britons were advanced in civilisation, having a taste for the conveniences and embellishments of life, which they had acquired from the Romans, whilst the Saxons of those times had no taste for the arts, but were in a state but little above mere barbarism. At the period of the death of Arthur, placed in the year 542, this contest had been going on for nearly a century, the Saxons backed by vast hordes of adventurers from Germany, and other parts in the north of Europe, seeking to possess themselves of the island, the Britons to retain it. The feelings of animosity engendered in so lengthened a struggle may easily be imagined. Cruelties, slaughters, and violence were therefore only matters of course; but there was one feature of more than common ravage and spoliation, that as the Saxons gained possession they in many instances either slaughtered or expelled the Britons, on motives of policy and calculation, apparently, and under the idea that a deserted tract could be more easily retained than one on which a population lately subdued was suffered to continue. (See Rudborne's Chronicle, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, fol. 1691, vol. i, p. 187.) For the calamities of this period, indeed the whole of the Chronicles may be consulted, including that of the Saxons; as also Bede, Gildas, Nennius, and Asser. To sum up the catalogue of evils, we may also not forget to state, that the Britons were Christians when invaded, but that the sacred edifices, the priesthood, the worshippers, and religion itself fell, where the Saxons, then pagans, prevailed.

The custom of the Saxons, at this time just alluded to, of

making desolate tracts of country, for the purpose of more easily retaining them till they could replenish them by a population of their own, appears fully to illustrate the modern discoveries of the remains of ancient buildings, as hypocausts, mosaic pavements, rooms, and baths, in various parts of Britain. Where these are so found it seems to indicate a sudden abandonment of those parts by the inhabitants, and a subsequent solitude and desolation; so that when, after the lapse of many intervening centuries, the country becomes again cleared for cultivation, they are discovered covered over by an accretion of earth, arising from various causes, and by vegetable soil, formed by the decay of plants. (See a paper in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1846, vol. i, p. 105-111, on ancient remains of this class; as also on the transmission of other objects of antiquity to our times.) Where there are no such remains in our island, it may be regarded as showing either that there was no such sudden removal of the inhabitants; or if there were, that they were very speedily replaced by an influx of strangers. Here we may also note incidentally the corollary, that where there are like remains on the continent, a parity of reasoning will show that there must have been in those cases the same kind of desolation and ravage from barbarian invaders in the early part of the middle ages.

We now continue our narrative of British events from the debateable sources of the British Chronicles, in which alone, excepting a few notices in Gildas, is any intimation of what occurred in Britain in these times. According to them, Constantine the Third, Arthur's relation, succeeded him, and, as it appears to be understood, became King of Dumnonia. He fought several battles with the Saxons, with whom Mordred's sons continued an alliance; but was put to death after no long space of time, by Aurelius Conanus, his relation and successor, who was also called Cynan Wledig. The circumstances under which Constantine III was killed seem not known; nor do the Chronicles assign the precise year. Aurelius Conanus appears to have been a very valiant prince; but notwithstanding, according to Henry of Huntingdon and the Saxon Chronicle, the Britons lost a great battle at Salisbury, against the Saxons, in 552, to which we have before alluded, and through which they were driven away from that quarter; but this was somewhat compensated by their maintaining their

ground against them in another great battle at Banbury in 556, as has also been before mentioned. The death of Conanus is placed in 557.

Vortipore, King of the Demetæ, succeeded him, who is said to have gained one battle over the Saxons. He is called by Welsh writers Gwrthefyr the Blessed, and his death is placed in 561. Dissensions seem to have prevailed among the members of the Dumnonian family, and part had joined the Saxons. This circumstance may have occasioned his choice.

But now a concurrent dynasty-paramount had also arisen up. The state of Gwynedd or North Wales which, from the year 546, according to the showing of the Chronicles, had begun to share the supreme dominion, soon engrossed it entirely. Of this state there has been mention before as having been first the territory of the Ordovices, afterwards the Genounia of Pausanias, and ultimately Venedotia or Gwynedd. The Britons now seem to have entertained the idea that the same commander-in-chief could not so well direct their movements both in the north and in the south. They elected therefore Maelgwyn Gwynedd, King of Gwynedd, or otherwise North Wales, to be their king, in the year 546, four years after the death of Arthur. He was likewise named Maglocune, and had succeeded to his own dominions in 517, and continued in his supreme power to 560, when he died. The state of Dumnonia now seems to have become too much hemmed in by the Saxons to take with advantage the general superintendence of the island, independently of other reasons there might be; and from this time the British sovereigns paramount became strictly Cambrian. These new arrangements seem fully to explain the mention by Gildas, who wrote soon after the accession of Maglocune to the supremacy, of various British kings at this juncture, which is otherwise inexplicable.

This historian, we may observe, in his mentioning these several British kings, usually, with one exception placed in succession, speaks of them as contemporaries, which undoubtedly involves points of difficulty. (*Epistola Gildæ*, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32.) These rulers are Constantine III, Aurelius Conanus, Vortipore, Cuneglasse, and Maglocune. Of these, Constantine and Maelgwyn Gwynedd, or Maglocune, as the date of the death of the former is uncertain, may have held contemporaneously their respective portions of the supreme

rule; and Aurelius Conanus, and Vortipore not then have succeeded to the supreme power, but only have had local sway as kings of British states. Regarding Cuneglasse, the situation of whose dominions is thought to have been between the Severn and the Wye, he is never supposed to have possessed the sovereign power, but to have been a local prince only.

Respecting the Strathcluyd Britons who come into mention about this period, it may be necessary to say a few words. These, in the earlier part of the middle ages, held the district known at present as Dunbartonshire: and Dunbarton or Dumbrition, Britannorum Dunum, the Alcluith of Bede, and the Strath-ar-Clwyd of Welch writers, a very strong place, was their capital. A very probable supposition respecting the origin of these people is, either that they were Caledonians who had joined the Britons, or that they were a remnant of the ancient Brigantes who had established themselves in this quarter, as the other Britons always seemed to fraternise with them. Among various opinions which might be advanced, or modifications of opinion, we may mention that of the antiquary Baxter, who, in his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, p. 184, 8vo, 1733, was inclined to maintain the following hypothesis.

He thought that the Strathcluyd Britons were the Novantes of Ptolemy, inhabitants of Galloway, which is the south-western extremity of Caledonia. He considered they were Irish-Scots in origin, who had come and settled there; and forgetful of their own nationality, intimately united their cause with the Britons, so that they came to be considered as a branch of the same people, and were spoken of as Britons. On this point it may be urged that Dunbarton, the capital of the Strathcluyd Britons, is sixty miles from any part of the confines of the county of Galloway, or Wigtown, as it is now called, which seems a decisive objection; but that the Britons occupied Galloway seems most probable, as it is said to have been called Gael-Wallia in the middle ages. Also a bishop's see was founded at Candida Casa (Whitherne) by Ninian, a British bishop. Mr. Ritson, it may be observed, in his posthumous work, *The Annals of the Caledonians and of Strathcluyd, &c.*, 8vo, 1828, throws no light on the origin of this people.

To return to our more immediate subject. The position of the Britons now became hourly more critical. In the year

571, Cheavlin, king of the West Saxons, and Cutha his brother, beat them in a battle at Bedford, and wrested from them four intrenched camps, called, by the Saxons, Lienberig, Aylesbury, Bensington, and Aegnesham. (See H. Huntingdon's *History*.)

Six years afterwards, in 577, Cheavlin, and Cuthwine his son, beat them again at Deorham, a place so called by the Saxons. On this occasion three British kings had drawn up their forces, in good array and close order, according to the rules of war; nevertheless, they were defeated, and the three kings slain; soon after which the three important towns of Glevum, Corinium, and Aquæ Solis, fell into their hands. (H. Huntingdon's *History*.) The names of the chiefs we are informed were Farinmagil, Candidan, and Commagil.

In another furious battle at Fedhalnea, in the year 584, fought by Cheavlin and Cuthwine, against the Britons, the Saxons were at first beaten, and Cuthwine slain, but Cheavlin retrieved the success of the day, and gained a victory over the Britons, and took from them much territory. (*Ibid.*)

Hitherto the Britons, though gradually losing ground for a long series of years, may nevertheless be considered as contending for Britain itself; but now a change took place in their affairs very much for the worse, and they are only to be regarded as struggling for their existence, within the limits of Cambria, and some other of the more remote and rugged districts of the island.

It was about the year 586, as seems universally agreed by those who have treated of the affairs of these times, that Caredig, who had succeeded Maelgwyn Gwynedd as king of the Britons, lost a battle in endeavouring to relieve Cirencester, *i. e.* Corinium, which by this it appears now again belonged to the Britons, and is mentioned as besieged by the Saxons in concert with other adventurers from the north. (See Roberts' *Chronicle of Tysilio*, p. 334-336.) The check was not perhaps greater than several they had received on former occasions, without losing much ground, but in the present shattered state of their affairs, this defeat seems to have had a great effect, and they precipitately retreated across the Severn, and took refuge in Wales. (See the *British Chronicles*.) About this time also, Crida, a Saxon leader, founded the kingdom of Mercia. (See Henry of Huntingdon's *History*.) Gloucester and Bath had been taken, as we have seen, some few years before, and not again recovered, for aught that appears. It is pro-

bable indeed that the Britons had at this time but few places left in the central parts of the kingdom. Thus they seem universally to have begun to follow the example of their army, and to retire from every direction to their fastnesses, the great bulk of them to Wales, whilst other portions of them sought to maintain their independence in Dumnonia, Strathcluyd, and Galloway; and others again in Cumberland.

We have only to remark on this crisis of the affairs of the Britons, that their present straightened and reduced condition was no more than the natural consequence of that species of warfare to which they were exposed. They contended with an enemy constantly reinforced from another country, and consequently ever ready to renew an attack. The Saxons invited over their countrymen under the promise of giving them dominions in this country. (*Nennius*, c. 56.)\* And we have before cited an authority, that so many Saxon chiefs, even early in this century, traversed, with their marauding expeditions, the district which was afterwards called Mercia, that their names are not recorded, because they were so numerous. Add to this the now rapidly rising kingdom of the West Saxons, afterwards the predominating Saxon dynasty, and the newly formed power of the Mercians, who had become possessed of the central parts of the island, incommoded the Britons the more, by intercepting their free communication with their brethren of Dumnonia. Thus the multitudes which had for a length of time been introduced into the kingdom at last overflowed and prevailed.

We have now brought down our account to the Middle Ages; the remaining events most obviously connected with the three dominant British powers, or the wrecks of them, may here follow with their dates.

A.D. 751, Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, conquered all Dumnonia, eastward of the river Exe; and eventually retained it. (*Chattaway's History of the Danmonii*, 8vo, 1830, p. 57.)

A.D. 756, Caer Al Clwd, or Dumbarton, the capital of the Strathcluyd Britons, was taken by Eadbert, king of Northumberland; and the Britons there were reduced to become tributary. (*Simeon of Durham's History*.)

A.D. 780. Offa, king of Mercia, seized part of Wales, across

\* This appears the meaning in the text of Gunn's *Nennius*, 8vo, 1819, p. 80, though doubtful in the usual copies; as also in the Dublin edition, p. 113.

the Wye, to secure which he made a ditch and rampart between that river and the Dee, called Offa's Dyke. (Caradoc's *Chronicle*.)

A.D. 806. The Dumnonii make an alliance with the Danes. (Chattaway's *History*, p. 58.)

A.D. 870. The city of Alcluith, the capital of Strathcluyd, was taken this year. (*Annales Cambriæ*.) And (a large body of) the Strathcluyd Britons having lost their king Constantine, in battle at Lochmaban, in Anandia (Annandale), and being harassed by the Danes, Saxons and Scots, seek an asylum among their countrymen in North Wales. (Humphrey Lhuyd's *Breviary*, p. 41.) They dispossess the Saxons of the tract of country lying between the Dee and the Conway (Wynne's *History of Wales*), and the Britons call their newly-acquired territory, lying in Denbighshire, by the appellation of their former Caledonian dominion, Strathcluyd. (Warrington's *History of Wales*, 8vo, 1791, vol. i, p. 231.)

A.D. 932. Athelstan conquers the Dumnonii. Howell, their king, surrenders all his dominions east of the Tamar, and becomes tributary for the rest. (Chattaway's *History*, p. 63.)

A.D. 974. Dunwallon, king of the Strathcluyd Britons of Wales, having retired to Rome (Caradoc's *Chronicle*), and embraced a religious life, the state of Strathcluyd was united to North Wales. (Warrington's *History*, vol. i, p. 291.)

A.D. 1018. According to the Additaments to Simeon of Durham, the remnant of the Strathcluyd kingdom in Caledonia continues to exist up to this date, Eugenius Calvus, their king, taking a part in the battle of Carron. (See Ritson's *Annals of the Caledonians and of Strathcluyd*, &c., vol. ii, p. 185.)

AFTER THE CONQUEST, Condor, the last British sovereign of the Dumnonii, was deposed by William the First, who made his retainer, Moreton, Earl of Cornwall. (Chattaway's *History*, p. 98.)

A.D. 1137. Griffith ap Cynan, the last king of Wales, died this year, after which the sovereigns of Wales had the title of princes only. (Warrington's *History*, vol. i, pp. 448, 453.)

A.D. 1157. Henry the Second reduced North Wales, and Owen Gwynedh, prince of North Wales, submitted to do homage. (Warrington's *History*, vol. i, p. 478.)

A.D. 1283. In the reign of Edward the First, Wales was

surrendered to the English crown, and the distinct nationality of its territory was extinguished (Warrington's *History*, vol. ii, p. 292); and in the form in which it was then reduced it remains to the present time a part of Great Britain. By a species of anomaly the title of Prince of Wales became vested not in the king of England, who virtually possesses it, but in the heir apparent of the English crown, who has no sovereign jurisdiction or dominion within its limits.

We have now to offer some few remarks in retrospect of the retirement of the Britons to Wales, where they maintained themselves more or less independently for nearly 700 years, *i.e.* from the year 586 down to the last date we have given. On their retreat there, the population must, of course, have been suddenly much increased; there must have been an influx from all quarters. We may make, therefore, a double inquiry: first, how much their means of resistance were in reality augmented; and secondly, the effect on their literature and civilisation, resulting from this event.

As to the first of these points, Matthew of Westminster, in his *Chronicle*, treating of the year 586, and speaking of the retreat of the Britons to Wales and Cornwall, says, "Sunt autem provinciæ illorum inexpugnabiles, videlicet memorum densitate consitæ, altis vallatæ paludibus, præruptis, tumentes montibus." That is, their provinces are impregnable, as being overspread with thick forests, encompassed with deep morasses, and studded with high mountains. He speaks, it will be observed, of the forests at that time in Wales and Cornwall, a feature which certainly when blended with the mountain and morass, tends much to form fastnesses for a population over-matched by their more powerful neighbours. Their country was, therefore, without doubt in the first instance, very strong. Williams, in his *Observations on the Snowdon Mountains*, 8vo, 1802, mentions the circumstance, that there are indications that the loftiest heights in Wales were once covered with wood. At his page 92, he has this passage: "Most, or even all of these high mountains, we are well assured by history as well as tradition, and also by visible appearances of roots, fibres, and often whole trunks of trees, dug out of the ground, were once covered to the very summits with woods; impenetrable to all, except to those who were acquainted with their labyrinths and windings." At his pages 86, 138, and 150, he also alludes to the former wooded



state of the country. Regarding Dumnonia, a late work (Murray's *Hand-Book of Devon and Cornwall*), pointing out to us the tradition, that Dartmoor was once covered by a forest, which is part confirmed by trunks of trees often found in marshy places, seems to show that there was formerly the same prevalence of wood in the Devonian and Cornish tracts. Now, extensive forests of course disappeared before an increased population, both in Wales and Cornwall, and with them, doubtless, passed away much of the defensible strength of these regions. The opening of roads would have been concomitant with cultivation, so that their yielding at length to the rising power of their neighbours, may excite the less surprise.

It has been thought that the division of Roderic the Great, of his dominions into three principalities, viz., Gwynedd, or North Wales, Powis, and Dinefawr, among his three sons, in the year 877, accelerated the subjugation of Cambria to the English crown. But the division into three smaller kingdoms, was doubtless more calculated to keep up the patriotism of the Britons, who would thus feel more interest for their immediate leader, with whom, in a country rugged and difficult, they could be by this means better in communication; and though something might be occasionally lost in unity of action, yet this might have been of far less importance than civil wars and insurrections, which might otherwise have arisen from the ambition and dissatisfaction of powerful local chiefs. These considerations, without doubt, had their weight in the mind of Roderic the Great, who probably thought he best consulted the ultimate permanency of his country's independence in what he did. But he did not leave the three principalities of Cambria absolutely unconnected, as he settled the pendragonship on his eldest son Anarawd, prince of North Wales, to which principality he also assigned some slight privileges.

With respect to literature and civilisation, the retreat of the Britons to Cambria must not solely be viewed as the cause of the assembling together of a vast multitude of ferocious and uncultivated warriors within the limits of that country, since it seems that men of letters from the north also took refuge there, as Aneurin the bard, and Gildas the historian. (See Owen's *Cambrian Biography*, and other works.) The North of Britain we find possessed, even then the embellishments of

mental cultivation, a characteristic which still continues. Soon after this literature having been introduced, learning advanced to a great extent in Ireland, a circumstance naturally very favourable to civilisation in Cambria, from the proximity of the two countries. According to Keating's *History*, Ireland began to overflow in the sixth and seventh centuries with annalists, bards, and poets; and it is evident that there was some spreading of literature from that quarter, as the first ancient edition of the History of Nennius originated there: and Mr. Davies shows, in his Essay on the *Claims of Ossian*, 8vo, 1825, that the productions of the Irish bards found their way to Caledonia. However, duly to trace the literature of the three divisions of the Celtic family, Cambria, Caledonia, and Hibernia, to which also that of Armorica might be added, would be a very prolonged task. Suffice it, therefore to say, for our present purpose, that Celtic literature flourished from the fifth to the twelfth century, and was apparently at its zenith from the sixth to the tenth. Its extensive spread seems to show that there must have been readers, not only among the bards and ecclesiastics, but in every class of life. But it must clearly be understood, that we include in the Celtic literature of these ages works of Latin, written for the use of the Celts, as well as those in their own dialects, Latin being in those times almost vernacular throughout Europe.

The literary productions of the Celts which have come down to us—at least those which are most known—are chiefly historical or poetical. Of the former class, there are the histories of Gildas, Marcus, Nennius, and Tysilio, and collections of annals in Welsh and Erse; whilst, as to compositions in verse, we have numerous poems, and parts of poems. We may the more particularly connect the historical part of Celtic literature with the monasteries; whilst the poetry seems rather to have been written for the amusement of the princes, nobles, and laity. The want of intercourse of the Celts of these regions with the great European family of nations, seems much apparent in their historical productions. Thus, if we may refer to the two Cambrian histories which the ravages of time have left us, *i.e.*, those of Nennius and Tysilio, the one is barbarously rude in style; the other, though more elegant, full of gross fictions; of which, indeed, the first has likewise its share.

There is a source of obscurity very peculiar to the Welch bards; namely, their adopting most extensively conventional modes of expressing their ideas. They, in fact, employed words, and terms, and phrases, as to the meaning of which the order of bards were well agreed among themselves, but which, to others, is highly enigmatical; and in particular is so to us, living in so much later times. They called this mode of expressing themselves their "cyvrenin," *i.e.* participation; implying, that they had a mutual understanding of the terms and language they used.

It is from this cause, as well as some of their subjects being merely romance, that there is the less illustration afforded to history in the remains of the Welch bards; but there were probably many metrical genealogies in existence among the ancient Britons, similar to what are now extant in Ireland, which we may consider were used in compiling the earlier parts of their chronicles.

It will not be denied that literature must have been of great use in these ages in keeping up civilisation among the Celts, the Welch in particular. The perpetual inroads and marauding expeditions they made in latter times in the adjoining districts occupied by the English, and the retaliations and devastations which ensued in consequence, must have had a direct tendency to introduce barbarism, and probably did produce a considerable retrogradation in the habits and manners of the Cambrians. Hence there was the greater need of some influence in an opposite direction to counteract it.

Not to forget the Dumnonii, it cannot be doubted but that they had likewise their own literature of the same nature as that of the Welch; indeed they were more in intercourse with the continent: however were it so, there is scarcely a vestige of it which remains.

Some further passing notice should also be bestowed on the kingdom of Cumbria or Cumberland, in which we find that the Britons were established in the fourth and fifth centuries, and as it should seem much later. We have referred before to the incidental mention of them in these quarters in the year 493. The existence of this state under the name of Cumbria, or the Cumbri, appears to be admitted by Camden in his *Britannia*, and by Wynne in his edition of Caradoc's *History of Wales*, 1697, p. 37; but some confusion arises, as the Britons of Strathcluyd are also called Cumbri or Cambri.

(See Ritson's *Annals of the Caledonians*, &c. 12mo, 1828, pp. 132, 165, 166, 167, &c.)

This circumstance, however, shows evidently an identity of the population in the kingdom of Strathclyd, with that in the district now called Cumberland, and its immediately adjoining parts. And as Strathclyd was indiscriminately called Cumbria or Cambria, and as Wales also bore this latter name, the identity of the population of all three need not be doubted, though the appellation Cambria does not seem to occur very early as applied to Wales; and in particular we find it called "Wallia" by Taliesin.

But, further, there is here a topic for inquiry concerning the ethnological origin of the Cymri, by which name the present inhabitants of Wales are considered most correctly styled. The Strathclyd Cumbria or Cambria, we are told, extended from sea to sea, as is noted in the Life of St. Kentigern. (Ritson's *Annals*, vol. ii, p. 147.) Its eastern shores would, therefore, be opposite the Cimbri of the continent, who are considered to have been originally Celts, by good authorities. (See Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Biography, Mythology, and Geography*, 8vo, 1850.) But it may be sufficient to allude to this.

Regarding, too, the Dumnonii. One circumstance seems especially to connect them with modern times: the modern Duchy of Cornwall appears to have originated from their state. The first modification of this was, as we find in the form of an earldom, by William the Conqueror, who bestowed it upon his dependent Moreton, the first earl. It has since been constituted an hereditary dukedom; and as such has continued to be held by the Prince of Wales as heir apparent, for the time being of the English crown; being a similar perpetuation of the ancient state, as the principality of Wales is of the larger British kingdom once established in that quarter.

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# NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS OF ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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## BOOK II. BRITAIN—ITS GEOGRAPHY.

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### CHAPTER I.

THERE appears a great scope for the illustration of this subject, as our information respecting it is not so much scanty as somewhat indefinite. It is with this as with many other subjects, that in proportion as we can correctly ascertain some points, others are better understood. We will now first inquire in what way our acquaintance with the ancient geography of our island is come down to us : and we may here take the opportunity of observing, that it is not intended to treat of the geography of Caledonia in this work otherwise than incidentally.

During the time of Saxon sway, and when means of information were within reach, the Saxons seem to have been anxious rather to forget all that related to British history and geography than to preserve it. There is scarcely, therefore, a Saxon writer who imparts us information of consequence, their histories or writings relating to the more interesting topic to themselves, of their own affairs, and the then divisions of the country. In Whittichind, however, one of the number, there is a reference to the fact, that the island was divided into provinces in the time of Vespasian.

The next era which followed, that is, that of the Normans, a different dynasty having been introduced, and an aristocracy of another race, there were no longer prejudices or distaste against inquiries on topics relating to the Britons ; but at that time not only the ancient British and Roman divisions of the country had become out of use, but also those that succeeded them of the Saxons. The main divisions of the island had then become Scotland, England, Wales, and Cornwall, which indeed seem to have come into use in the latter Saxon times.

The monks, unskilful in geography and history, appear to have been chiefly anxious to accommodate ancient accounts to the state of things as they then were, to fall in with usually received ideas, and to represent as little alteration between the present and the past as could well be done. This, at any rate, appears to be the tenor of many of the middle age accounts, in which geographical matters are referred to. In not one of the ancient Chronicles do we find the ancient divisions of Britain mentioned, with which we are made acquainted in Ptolemy and the classics. One reason indeed may have been that, finding these divisions confused after the Romans had left, in the time of Arthur the British king and the subsequent rulers, and being able nearly to accommodate the then divisions to their own times, they thought it less troublesome and confusing to apply them to still more remote times. There is great reason to believe, from the existence of the *Belgic Chronicle* of Colinus, and the *Descriptio utriusque Britanniae* of the twelfth century, that is, "The Description of Britain and Armorica," supposed to have been written by John de Salisbury, but now lost (see the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1847, p. 381), that works of a more correct class were written by one and the other, who saw the defects of the prevailing accounts; but these seem to have found no great favour, and copies of them do not seem to have become multiplied.

After the invention of printing, the ancient geography of the island came again into notice, by the publishing of classical authors and itineraries. But 150 years had elapsed down to the times of Camden, before we find it set forth in any very definite shape. Camden worked it out into a consistent whole, as far as he could; assigned to each state its locality; and, indeed, performed his task so well, that for the next century most seem to have coincided with him; though, in this ensuing century, with the exception of Somner, Burton, and Plot, there were comparatively few who made researches. The eighteenth century gave a further impulse.

Early in this century appeared the work of Thomas Gale, on the Itinerary of Antoninus. It was followed by Batteley's, Richborough, and Reculver; and a few years afterwards by Baxter's Glossary, and Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, nearly at the same time, and afterwards by Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*. At the conclusion of this century Roy and King

flourished; and in the last year of it appeared Reynolds' learned, though somewhat imperfect work on Antoninus. Gordon had written his *Iter Septentrionale* in the prior part of it.

Two of the earlier writers of this century, perhaps, will never be entirely obsolete, Horsley and Baxter: Horsley from the correct and good style in which he brought forward his work; and Baxter from his great stores of learning, and his great industry in illustrating all the local names in Britain. Of Baxter, we must subsequently find occasion further to speak.

But about the middle of this century, there was an alleged discovery of the work of a medieval writer, Richard of Cirencester, entitled, *De Situ Britannia*, which, if authentic, might be considered to have made a very great advance in the knowledge of our ancient British geography: however, as this work may be found to require some lengthened examination, we may pass it by for the present, leaving it for a subsequent page.

The authors we have above mentioned, concluding with the apocryphal one, whom we have reserved for future consideration, are those who have been most noted for working up, comparing, and elucidating ancient materials from classical sources, relating to the early geography of Britain; we may now make a few brief remarks, suggested by researches in the ancient sources of information themselves, taking in due course among them the one we had deferred for further examination.

To begin with Ptolemy. This author, though he flourished about A.D. 150, living in the time of the Antonines, yet does not recognise, or more correctly to say, does not follow the Roman provincial divisions of the island which had been established nearly a century. This might seem somewhat to sanction the ancient British Chronicles, that the Romans rather had possession of the country as lords paramount, than held it in subjection. Ptolemy acknowledging in A.D. 150, the existence of the Trinobantes, Dobuni, Cornavii, &c., it is plain those states were still nominally in being, though not all of them may have had their native princes, or, at least, native princes with any considerable degree of power. In our geographer, the different states are always designated by the names of the people; as, Cantii, Dumnonii, &c.; and we never find the name of a province as Cantium, Dumnonia, &c. The same distinction seems to have been observed in other ancient

authors. We have, however, the territorial name of Cantium in Cæsar, and Brigantia on an inscription (*Horsley*, xxxiv.)

The maps which accompany Ptolemy's text, are supposed to date several centuries after his time. This may account for the Catiuechlani being misplaced, and located in Lincolnshire, while the name of their town, Verulam, in his text identifies them with the Cassii, the inhabitants of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire. From the same cause may have originated the misnaming the Trinobantes, Trinobantes, and the placing the second Legion near Isca Dumnoniorum, instead of at Isca Silurum, or Caerleon. As to the name Simeni for Iceni, it may be doubted on the whole, whether it were a mistake, and not rather a varied name of that people. In regard to other particulars—Cantium, or rather the territory of the Cantii, is made to comprehend Londinium. This might probably have been, not that the ancient Cantium extended so far, but because Camulodunum, a colonial city, had from superior rank become invested with the territory which Londinium would otherwise have had, and that thus it became necessary to assign Cantium to it instead, from which it was not remote. This ancient fact of history was apparently known to the writer of the ancient British Chronicle, *i.e.* Tysilio's Chronicle, who, however, has travestied it, and applied it to still more ancient times, representing Cassibelan, as conferring on Androgeus, the son of his predecessor Llad, the government of London, and the earldom of Kent. (See also *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, iii, 20.) The Dumnonii, who seem to have held under the Romans all the district west of the Parret,\* a river in the middle of Somersetshire, appear, according to these maps, but erroneously it may be presumed, to have their territory extended as far eastward as the Avon. In either case the tract was rather extensive; and here some minor tribes were in all probability located, though this idea is not sanctioned by Ptolemy. The Romans, therefore, seem to have reposed confidence in the Dumnonii. From an opposite reason, presumably, they may have divided the warlike Silures into two dependent states, the Demetæ and Silures Proper: for the whole district, correctly speaking, was the country of the Silures: since Pliny says, iv, 30, that from the territory of the Silures to Ireland,

\* The name of this river, in the ancient and British language, very evidently implies, etymologically, separation, or division.



the distance was thirty miles. They could thus divide and govern. Afterwards finding it convenient to withdraw the legion stationed at Isca Silurum, they appear to have formed the Demetæ into a kingdom to control these parts. At least, so we may conclude, as the Silures seem never to have come into power again; while we hear of the Demetian kingdom soon after the Romans left (Gildas, *Epistle*, c. 81); and it may be judged to have afterwards given rise to the kingdom of South Wales. The original extent of this state is reputed to have been Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, and Caermarthen-shire. (Gunn's *Nennius*, p. 119.) To which Baxter adds, in his *Glossary of British Antiquities*, p. 102, Brecknockshire and Radnorshire, assigning no valid reason, whilst, were it so, the real cause might possibly be, that there was no other powerful kingdom in these parts, with which they might have been connected.

Next to the Dumnonii, westward, Ptolemy places a British state named the Durotriges, with their capital Dunium. This tribe or state is only mentioned by him; and with very little probability of error, we may consider them to have been a branch of the Belgæ, and to have inhabited the present Dorsetshire. The beginning of each word, it must be allowed, is nearly the same, Duro and Dor; or at least would be melted down to a considerable resemblance in pronunciation. But if the position be correct, which we have thus assigned to this state, it is evident that Dunium cannot be Moridunum, as frequently supposed: a place, according to Antoninus, near Exeter, but must rather have been inserted by mistake, for the Durnovaria of this last author, the modern Dorchester. The Durotriges were probably a portion divided from the Belgæ by the Romans, for the purpose of more secure government.

The division, by Ptolemy, of the Brigantes into the Brigantes and Parisii, has been before noted. (See page 7.)

Respecting Cunobeline's former territories, no trace remains on Ptolemy's map of their former extent and boundaries; nor is there any mention of them in his text. His sons, it is always considered, divided them soon after his death. The Romans seem to have continued the division so opportune to them, and, indeed, to have broken them up further into their original constituent parts.

To illustrate Ptolemy, we are able to show the separate existence of British states, during Roman sway in several

instances from inscriptions, and in one case from an ancient author. These are particulars of interest, and we may introduce them as concurring with our present purpose.

The following inscription was found at Cambeck in Cumberland, the ancient Petriana, which is a station on the Roman wall, and has a mention of the state of the Catieuchlani or Cassii, who occupied Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire: it is given thus in Motte's *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. ii, part iv, p. 127:

CIVITATE CATVVILLAVAORVM, L. O. [S — — CDO.

We find it, however, varied by Horsley thus in his *Britannia Romana*, No. xxvii.

CIVITATE CATVVELAVNORVM. T. OIS——DIO:

which sets forth the final part somewhat differently without affecting the application to the Cassii. Here also observe that the word "civitas" is not to be understood in its middle age signification of a city, but in its more proper one, of a state or tribe.

The Belgæ, we may remark, are mentioned as a state in the celebrated inscription to Julius Vitalis, found about a mile from Bath, in October, 1708, and learnedly illustrated by the dissertation of Dr. Musgrave, 8vo, 1711, as also by that of Dodwell and some others. The wording of this is as follows, omitting divisions:—IVLIVS VITALIS FABRICIE(N)SIS LEG. XX. VV. STIPENDIORVM. IX. ANNOR. XXIX NATIONE BELGA EX COLLEGIO FABRICE RELATVS. H S E. *i.e.* "Julius Vitalis, armourer of the 20th Legion Valeriana Victrix, having served nine years, and twenty-nine years of age, by nation a Belgian, and having been brought forth by the College of the Manufactory of Arms, is buried here."

Of the Ordovices there is a mention in an inscription found at Cologne, and given in Gruter, xci. No. 6.—IN H DD DIABVS MALVISIS ET SILVANO AVR VERECVNDVS ORD BRITO V.S.L.M. This is cited by Cannegieter in his *Dissertatio de Brittenburgo*, 4to, Hague, 1734, p. 60, who informs us that Keysler, in his *Antiquitates selectæ Septentrionales*, p. 438, reads not ORD but ORDO. The reading of the inscription apparently is, In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinæ) diabus Malvisis et Silvano Aur(elius) Verecundus Ord(ovix) Brito(nus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

The translation appears to be thus: "In the honour of the divine house (*i.e.* of the family of the Emperor) Aurelius

Verecundus, a Briton of the state of the Ordovices, freely performs his vow to the Nymphs of the Maulve (a river near Orleans in France) and to Silvanus."

Another inscription, found at York in the year 1846, and described in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1847, vol. ii, p. 248, is supposed to read thus:—DEO ARCIACON(O) ET N(VMINIBVS) AVG(VSTI) SIMAT(IVS) V(I)TAL(I)S ORD(OVIX) V(OTVM) S(OLVIT) M(ERITO). That is in English: "To the god Arciaconus and the protecting divinities of the Emperor, Simatius Vitalis of the nation of the Ordovices performs his vow."

Of the Brigantes, portions of their name are not unfrequent in inscriptions, as DEAE NYMPHAE BRIG. (*Horsley*, p. 315.) DVI. CI. BRIG. (*Horsley*, xvii, &c.)

Further of the Brigantes. Stephanus Byzantinus, who lived in the fifth century, and made it his practice in his work *De Urbibus*, which is come down to us in an abbreviated form, to acquaint his readers what the inhabitants of each country and place was called, that is, that an inhabitant of Italy was called an Italian, an inhabitant of Rome a Roman, and so forth, has, under the head of the British Isles, the word Brigas, which stands for an inhabitant of the state of the Brigantes, showing the existence of the state, in memory at least, in the time of this author.

Of the Dumnonii it is believed the only inscriptions are those two at the Roman Wall supposed to record their aid to the work. CIVITAS DVMNI, and CIVITAS DUMNON. (See Mr. C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, p. 175.)

It will be observed, that the foregoing inscriptions comprise comparatively but few of the ancient British states. An inscription, it is true, is extant in Gruter to an official of Camulodunum, a Roman colony, who accordingly may be considered to have been a Roman; but this, with some others similar, do not apply sufficiently to the British population of those times to furnish the species of illustration which is sought. Thus much of Ptolemy.

The *Itinerary* of Antoninus forms a good sequel to Ptolemy giving us an idea of many of the Roman lines of communication, and mentioning six of the British states, the Brigantes, the Belgæ, the Attrebates, the Dumnonii, the Icenii, and the Silures. That it is almost next to impossible, satisfactorily to identify many of the stations of this writer is well known

to those who have examined the work with a view to assign the places mentioned : or who have consulted the commentaries which have been written on the subject. Some even of the more important stations, as Camboritum, seem not yet to be indubitably assigned. There are doubtlessly peculiar difficulties which attend the subject. For example, the whole distances stated in the various *iters* between the extreme points of the commencing and concluding stations do not always refer to the whole amount of the respective distances as in the *iters* ; but appear sometimes to indicate the shortest line of transit by summer roads. Were they invariably to give the casting up of the distances, they would form a corrective check on the other numbers ; but experience shows there is no rule generally applicable to be derived from this source.

The principal national lines of communication, such as the Watling-street and others, which one hears so often alluded to, do not appear so clearly set forth in Antoninus as might have been expected. It might have been anticipated that his work would, in the first instance, have detailed these, and afterwards proceeded to branches from them, and minor communications. However, not one of them is given entire ; nay, in some instances, the *iters* seem to leave them, take a circuit by other routes, and come into them again. This seems capable of explanation, as may be adverted to ; first however briefly stating what they were. i, The Watling-street, from Caer-Segont, in Wales, to Dover, Lymne, and Richborough, in Kent ; to this a north-western branch is frequently given, extending from Aber, south of Chester, to Catterick in Yorkshire, and thence into Scotland : ii, The Ikening-street, from Dorchester to the Coast near Yarmouth : iii, The Fosse-way, from Seaton in Dorsetshire, through Leicester and Lincoln, and so on, to the coast : iv, The Ermyne-street, from Market Wigton in Yorkshire, crossing the Humber at Winteringham, and proceeding by Lincoln and London to Chichester. However, Ranulph Higden, the chronicler, describes the Ermyne-street differently from most others, as communicating from St. David's in Wales to Southampton. Besides these there were also several other main lines of communication, as the Ryknield-street, which in the part of it north of Worcester, seems to have extended for about sixty miles parallel to the Fosse, at about thirty miles north-west of it. This is first

mentioned by Ranulph Higden, whom we have before cited, and said by him to extend from St. David's to the Tyne: however, an anonymous writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan. 1836, p. 18, is inclined to think, on the authority of a monastic charter, that its course was in a different direction, and that it communicated from Chester to Colchester, and was the same as is called the *Via Devana* by many writers. The other main lines, in addition to these, were those called the Salt-ways, the Akeman-street, &c. &c., all supposed to have been in existence in the time of the Romans.

Of these national lines of communication only four continued to be of sufficient consequence to be mentioned in the Statute Rolls in the time of William the Conqueror. In the Laws of that monarch they are styled the "*quatuor chimini*." With respect to these roads the *Itinerary* of Antoninus shows us they were not fully in use even in early Roman times: it being so natural to give the preference to those which passed through large towns and populous districts, rather than to such as traversed unfrequented tracts of country. There was an occasional use undoubtedly of all parts of them, but as time progressed, from the destruction of old towns from various causes and the rise of new ones they became less and less frequented. However they were still in use in the time of Ranulph Higden the chronicler, who wrote about A. D. 1340; but in more modern times public conveyances becoming in general use travellers were the more drawn from these ancient lines of communication; and in many places these roads have been removed and the space added to the fields; in other cases the materials have merely been taken away to repair other roads, and these left unfit for traffic.

Some have entertained the opinion that the four national highways, *i. e.*, the Watling-street, the Fosse-way, and the Ikening and Ermyrn streets, were made in remote British times by Dunwallo Molmutius, a supposed ancient British king, to whom a date is assigned of nearly seven centuries before Christ. This is an obvious absurdity. Indeed, as the Britons lived under distinct governments of various states and tribes, as Cæsar and other ancient authors inform us, what could be the inducement for one state to open a more ready communication for a powerful neighbour to invade them? Would Prasutagus have formed the Ikening-street to admit the forces of Cunobeline one way, and the Belgæ

another? The credit of those national works appears more justly due to the Romans: and of these main lines they formed, the Watling-street was undoubtedly the first: for it was formed for a double purpose, to afford communication both westward and northward, and their haste in forming it was doubtlessly the true reason of its winding and devious direction. The Ikening-street was, perhaps, the next to bring up their forces into the country of the Iceni; whilst the Fosse-way and Ermyn-street, both nearly quite straight, were certainly the last made of the four. Without any doubt they were all made to concentrate troops when wanted on various points. The Fosse and Ermyn-street, and, indeed, the other two, are remarkable for having few towns or villages, and, in some places, even houses on their lines. Possibly, in the first instance, these thoroughfares of the soldiers were avoided by the inhabitants, who preferred dwellings more at a distance. However, on these lines, towns may have been occasionally formed in which Roman troops were stationed, or in which Roman governors or officials resided.

As a general rule, towns on these main communications are to be considered as subsequent to the formation of them. For instance, take the Fosse. This was, probably, originally set out by camp colours, or other marks, the whole of its length from Aquæ Solis (Bath) to Lincoln. Therefore, that Cirencester and Leicester came precisely in the line, as also Newark, could scarcely be accident.

A Roman road, more than commonly noted and remarkable, might have been expected to have been met with leading from London to Eboracum, *i. e.* York, the ultimate Roman capital of the island. Such however is not the case, for though one set out running in a very rectilinear direction to Lindum, or Lincoln, the preliminary rendezvous in those quarters, yet it seems to have experienced a fate similar to that of the Fosse-way, arising from having been formed after various important towns had become studded about the country, by which traffic was abstracted from it; and it came into disuse even in Roman times, so much so, that this line of communication is not found noticed in Antoninus' *Itinerary*; and the few particulars which can now be stated respecting it, are principally as follows:

It is the same line of road as is most generally called the Ermyn-street; though Ranulph Higden, in his *Polychronicon*,

written about A.D. 1340, places, as before noted, the Ermyn-street in another part of the kingdom, and states it to have commenced at St. David's, and thence to have been continued to Southampton.

As to our present road: leaving London, it is believed to have passed near Enfield, thence over the river Lea at Ware, and thence to Royston, near which last place a length of about eight miles is still well preserved. From Royston it went across the Nen at Durobrivis or Castor; and, north of Castor, traces of it for a few miles are visible. However, hence the line is lost to Lincoln; but from that place it seems to go on in a straight line to the Humber. There is an itinerary of its whole course in Richard of Cirencester, iter xvii, of doubtful authenticity. If genuine, in giving so few stations from London to Lincoln, six in 132 miles, it fully shows the disuse which had grown up of this direct northern thoroughfare.

The *Notitia Imperii*, or Office Book of the Roman empire, may follow next. This dates about the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, and recognises no other divisions except Roman provincial ones. We have in this the principal rule and government set forth as established since the time of Constantine. Its various details commence with the VICEROY (Vicarius) of all Britain, who was appointed under the Master of the Imperial Palace, or Præfectus Prætorio, (iv, 2.) Under him were the governors of the five provinces into which Britain was then divided. Two of these were consular, and three presidential, governments, (ix, 68.) The governors of the provinces were as follows:—(1) the CONSULAR GOVERNOR of Maxima Cæsariensis; (2) the CONSULAR GOVERNOR of Valentia; (3) the PRESIDENT of Britannia Prima; (4) the PRESIDENT of Britannia Secunda; (5) the PRESIDENT of Flavia Cæsariensis. Thus the civil government was administered. Besides these, there were three military commanders of rank, who derived their authority from, and were under the Commander-in-Chief of, the Infantry of the West. “Sub dispositione viri illustris Magistri Peditum præsentialis, (Occidentis).” The titles of these three commanders were: (1) the DUX BRITANNIÆ, who commanded in the North of England against the Caledonians and Picts; (2) the COMES LITTORIS SAXONICI, or Count of the Saxon shore, who commanded on the south and

east coast against the Saxons; and (3) the COMES BRITANNIÆ, or Count of Britain, who appears to have commanded in the interior of the island. From the *Notitia Imperii* we have an opportunity of specifying the forces they commanded. First, however, as to the provinces.

The names of these we have already given, and their situation and extent we are enabled in some measure to specify, as the three great rivers of the country, the Thames, Severn, and Humber, were in part adopted as their boundaries; at least, are considered to have been so on good grounds: and as there is an evident indication that these territorial divisions were, in some instances, adapted to those of the ancient states of Britain, we cannot therefore greatly err, and may proceed to detail them thus:—

I. BRITANNIA PRIMA, the territory south of the Thames and Severn, which was the first part of Britain which became a province. “Redactaque paullatim in formam provinciæ proxima pars Britanniae:” *i. e.*, the part of Britain nearest the Continent, was reduced by degrees into the form of a province, says Tacitus, speaking of the events of the year 50 (*Agricola* 14).

II. BRITANNIA SECUNDA, Wales, with apparently the boundary of the Severn to the east.

III. FLAVIA, the part of Britain east of Wales, bounded by the Mersey and Humber, *i. e.*, by Lancashire and Yorkshire to the north, and by Britannia Prima to the south.

IV. MAXIMA CÆSARIENSIS, a consular province, it comprised the country of the Brigantes, and was bounded on the north by the wall of Severus, and on the south by Flavia.

V. VALENTIA, also a consular province, and comprising Caledonia, south of the wall of Antoninus, which extended between the Clyde and the Firth of Forth, and north of the wall of Severus. This province, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was formed by Theodosius the Great, in the year 369, and named after the Emperor Valentinian I; and as Sextus Rufus Festus, a Latin writer, only mentions four provinces in the year 360, this must then have been a part of the province of Maxima.

Besides the above, the apocryphal work attributed to Richard of Cirencester mentions a sixth province in Caledonia, north of Valentia, named VESPASIANA; but the assertion is not worthy of credit.



The capitals or seats of government of these provinces cannot with certainty be given, with the exception of perhaps Londinium for Flavia, and Eboracum or Eburacum for Maxima Cæsariensis. However, Vindomæ, *i.e.* Silchester, may be suggested for Britannia Prima, and Isca Silurum, or Caerleon, for Britannia Secunda.

The Roman troops are ranged in the *Notitia Imperii*, under their respective commanders. They come thus in order; the title of the General put first, and his troops following in the list.

I. The DUX BRITANNIÆ, whose troops were stationed in the north of England, as follows:

*Along the line of the Wall.*

The fourth cohort of the Lergores at Segedunum (Wallsend), 600. The cohort of Cornovii, at Pons Ælii (Newcastle on the Tyne), 600. The first wing of the Astores at Condercum (Benwell Hill), 300. First cohort of Frixagores, at Vindobala (Rutchester), 600. The Savinian wing at Hunnum (Halton Chesters), 300. Second wing of Astores at Cilurnum (Walwick Chesters), 300. First Batavian cohort at Procolitia (Carrawburg), 600. First Tungrian cohort at Borcovicus (Housesteads), 600. First Gaulish cohort at Vindolana (Little Chesters), 600. First cohort of Astores at Æsica (Great Chesters), 600. Second Dalmatian cohort at Magna (Caer Voran), 600. First Ælian cohort of Dacians at Amboglanna (Burdoswald), 600. The wing of Petriana at Petriana (Cambeck Fort), 300. Cohort of Aurelian Moors at Aballava (Watch Cross, otherwise Scalesby Castle), 600. Second cohort of the Lergores at Congavata (Stanwix), 600. First Spanish cohort at Axelodunum (Brough), 600. Second Thracian cohort at Gabrosentium (Drumburgh), 600. First Ælian naval cohort at Tunnocelum (Boulness), 600.

*In Station near the Wall.*

First cohort of the Morini at Glannibanta, 600. Third Nervian cohort at Aliona, 600. Company of Armourers at Bremetenracum, 100? First Herculean wing at Olenacum, 300. Sixth Nervian cohort at Virosidum, 600.

*In the rear of the Wall.*

The sixth Legion at the Præsidium, *i.e.* the chief garrison (York), 6000. The Dalmatian Horse at ditto, 300. The

Crispianian Horse at Danum (Doncaster), 300. The Equites Catafractarii at Morbio, 300. The cohort of the Barcarii Tigrisienses at Arbeia, 600. The cohort of the Nervii Dictenses at Dicti, 600. The cohort of the Vigiles at Concangii, 600. The cohort of the Exploratores at Lavatres, 600. The cohort of Directores at Veterum, or Veneris, *i.e.* Verteris, 600. The cohort of Defensores at Braboniacum, 600. The cohort of the Solenses at Maglovæ, 600. The cohort of Pacences at Magæ, 600. The cohort of Longovicarii at Longovicum, 600. The cohort of the Derventionenses at Derventio, 600.

With regard to the sixth legion as above, no name of a place is mentioned with it; the station, therefore, put after the Dalmatian Horse, is supposed to apply to both.

Total along the line of the wall, and in the immediate vicinity, 10,300 foot, and 1500 horse; total, 11,800.

Total in garrisons in reserve, in the rear, 12,000 foot, and 900 horse; total, 12,900.

Total of this northern army, 22,300 foot, and 2400 horse; total, 24,700.

This peace establishment forms the best comment on the state of Roman affairs in Britain, as regarded their northern neighbours, during the three centuries and a half of their residence here. This explains how the Britons, after this army was withdrawn, might, without any extraordinary pusillanimity, have found themselves unable to contend with the Picts and Caledonians; particularly if intestine feuds and national divisions existed among themselves.

The COMES LITTORIS SAXONICI per Britanniam, *i.e.* the Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain\* whose forces were as follows:—

The cohort of the Fortenses at Othona (supposed on the coast of Essex), 600. The cohort of the Tungricani at Dubris (Dover), 600. The cohort of the Turnacences at Lemanis (Lymne), 600. The Dalmatian Horse at Branodunum (Brancaaster, in Norfolk), 300. The Stablesianian Horse at Garriannonum (Burgh Castle), 300. The first cohort of the Vetasii

\* There has been some comment on the Littus Saxonicum at the former, p. 27, and it has been defined to be that part whither the Saxons resorted. There was a Littus Saxonicum in Belgium, as appears in the *Notitia Imperii*. This was a region of no great extent, but had a squadron of observation stationed there, called the Classis Sambricæ, as also a wing of horse, and was under the jurisdiction of the Dux Belgicæ. See the *Notitia* of Pancirolus, pp. 139, 140.

at Regulbium (Reculver), 600. The second Legion at Rutupiaë (Richborough), 6000. The cohort of the Abulci at Anderida (Pevensea), 600. The cohort of the Exploratores at the Portus Adurni (Aldrington), 600. Total 9600 foot, and 600 horse: total, 10,200.

The COMES BRITANNIÆ, or Count of Britain. He may be deemed to have been the commander of the interior; but it so happens that neither the stations of his troops, nor his own head quarters, are mentioned. Victores Juniores Britannici, 600; Primani Juniores, 600; Secundani Juniores, 600. These were of foot. Of horse there were: the Catafractarii Juniores, 300; the Scutarii Aureliaci, 300; the Honoriani Seniores, 300; the Stablesiani, 300; the Syri, 300; the Taifali, 300. In all 1800 foot, and 1800 horse; total 3600.

There is a singular circumstance connected with the mention of these troops in the *Notitia*. In the numeration of them in the part of the Roman army to which they belonged, *i. e.* as troops under the command of the Master of the Foot and of the Master of the Horse, they are assigned to the Count of Britain; but at a subsequent page, at which the court and establishment of the said count are treated of, they are entirely omitted. The reason of the omission seems very obscure. Apparently it is not to be taken as an indication that they were withdrawn from Britain; as troops assigned to the Comes Africæ, and to the Comes Tingitanæ, in the same list (see *Notitia*, Edition of Pancirolus, Geneva, 1623, p. 54), are omitted afterwards, when the governments of those officers are particularised (see pp. 105 and 107).

*The whole Roman forces.*—These in Britain, at the date of the *Notitia*, were as follows:—2 legions, 35 cohorts, with a band of armourers, and 16 wings of horse,—comprising, as nearly as may be estimated, 32,700 foot and 4800 horse, or in the whole, 37,500 men. The remark of Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, has been noticed at p. 28, that though only two legions remained in the country in the time of the *Notitia*, yet that the auxiliary cohorts of the other, the 20th, were left behind. But as before observed, there is appearance that there were also besides some supernumerary cohorts in the island.

Having now concluded with our detail of the Roman troops, we may again revert to the topic of the numerical strength of the legion, cohort, and others sub-divisions of their

forces. We may repeat what has been observed before, at our preceding page 22, that the real numbers of their respective establishments being unknown, we have inferred those of the first centuries of the empire :\* the arguments being not satisfactory relating to their supposed reduction by Constantine, or other succeeding emperors.

With respect to the Roman system of government for Britain, as before noted, comprising the viceroy and his subordinate governors, under one high officer of the empire, and various military commanders under another, it might seem somewhat complicated at the first view, and the advantages of it not to be very obvious ; it must be regarded, however, as an arrangement solely made from precautionary motives. This system was established by Constantine the Great, after a series of most unexampled commotions and insurrections in the Roman empire generally, for a long continuance of time. Before that period Britain had been governed in a more simple form by a *proprætor*, a military officer, in whom the supreme authority was vested. On a comparison of the two systems, it will readily be seen, that under the former, the *proprætor* having the sole civil and military power, could easily dissolve the connection with the ruling powers at home if he found himself sufficiently powerful, and declare himself independent. According to the second system, there was not only a division of power among those in the highest authority in the island, civil and military, but they also referred to different departments of the government at Rome.

These arrangements were the ultimate ones of the Romans in the island, continuing nearly a century, up to the time of their leaving. It is true that, during that period, two most serious and very general revolts occurred ; but the precautions were probably the best that human prudence could devise.

Next to the *Notitia*, we may mention the work of Ravennas, written, as is supposed, about A.D. 650. It appears, from an expression in the work, (*Britannia, ubi olim gens Saxonum veniens ab antiquâ Saxoniâ, cum principe suo, nomine Anschis in eâ habitare videtur*.) that it was written some considerable time after the landing of the Saxons, yet the description entirely refers to its state under the Romans. To what date the

\* Eutropius informs us, that even as early as the times of Camillus, the legion consisted of 6000 men, as he tells us (Book ii, 6) that ten legions made up the number of 60,000 men and upwards.

description precisely applies, is somewhat doubtful. It does not mention Gariannonum, Regulbium, Othona, and several other places enumerated in the *Notitia*, but comprehends far more of those mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, although it must have been nearer, in point of date, to the former than to the latter.

As to the important particular of the provincial divisions of Britain, it seems not to recognise those which the Romans had established, which we have alluded to at a former page. Indeed, having been written about two centuries after the Romans had lost Britain, it could not have been but highly inconsistent to have enumerated provinces which no longer existed. Still the author of the work seems to have thought it not right to give his description of Britain without subdivisions; and he seems to have adopted those suggested by the form of the country, as 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th. He only, indeed, mentions division the 3d by name, where he says, that certain towns, together with the territory, occupied by the people called the Sistuntiaci, make up the third part of Britain. (Iterum sunt civitates in ipsâ Britannîâ, quæ recto tramite de unâ parte in aliâ, id est de oceano in oceano, et Sistuntiaci dividunt in tertiâ portione ipsam Britanniam.) These territorial divisions are, in fact, no more than as if a person should, for the convenience of description, say the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th parts of Italy; and would be about equivalent in Greek to ἐν τῇ Βρετάννιᾳ τῇ ἀνω, τῇ κάτω, τῇ πρόρρωτέρῳ, τῇ πόρρωτάτῳ. In *Dion Cassius*, Book liii, 12, we have examples of the first and second expressions; and Upper and Lower Britain, etc., under the proprætors, may possibly at times have been distinct commands, till the provinces were more definitely set out; and even then a military district might not necessarily have been limited by the bounds of a province. Of these present divisions which we specify in Ravennas, the heading or title 1st and 2d, probably stood in the margin of the original, though absent in both the copies now extant; the 3d is expressed in the extract given above; and the 4th appears by a phrase in the original, with nearly similar circumlocution, though the words 4th part are not mentioned. (Iterum sunt civitates in ipsâ Britannîâ recto tramite una alterius connexæ ubi et ipsa Britannia plus angustissima de oceano in oceano esse dignoscitur.) Thus the Vatican copy of Ravennas has it; and in both the above passages it is obvious

that the Latin words, "recto tramite," have the sense of directly across.

The four divisions supposed to be understood in Ravennas, appear then to comprise as follows:—*Britannia Prima*, the part south of the Thames and Severn; *Britannia Secunda*, the part north of the above, and south of the line of the Humber; *Britannia Tertia*, the territories of the Brigantes, that is, Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire; *Britannia Quarta*, the part north of this or the former Roman province of *Valentia*. After the fourth division follow thirty towns put by themselves, but obviously belonging to it. Indeed, some of them seem to lie immediately to the north of the third part of Britain. With regard to ascertaining these divisions, Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, p. 490, falls into an error, mistaking Gale's marginal notes, "*prima pars Britanniae, etc.*," for a portion of the text.

Were the respective cities and towns always placed within these their divisions, their identification would be much easier, but some are evidently placed in the divisions to which they do not belong. What is singular, some of the names of the towns are in the nominative, others in the ablative case, as if they were taken from different itineraries, some of which used the one case, some the other. The nominatives have often the Greek termination, *ion*; the ablatives, singular and plural, keep the Latin form, being not altered to the Greek datives, as they might have been. A great deal of Ravennas will easily resolve itself into the different *iters* of a British itinerary. Take, for example, in parts 1 and 2 of *Britain*.—*Lemanis*, *Dubris*, *Duroverno Cantiacorum*, *Rutupis*.—*Durobrabis*, *Londini*, *Tamese*,\* *Brinavis*, *Alaunâ*, *Utriconion Cornoviorum*, *Labrovintâ*, *Mediomano*, *Seguntio*, *Canubio*, *Mediolano*, *Sandonio*, *Devâ*, *Victrix* (*legio ubi est*), *Veratino*, *Lutudarum*, *Derbentione*, *Salinis*, *Condate*, *Ratecorion* (*Ratæ Coritanorum*), *Eltanori*, *Lectoçeto*, *Iacio Dulmâ*, *Virolanium*, *Londinium*, *Augusta* (*legio ubi est*), *Cæsaromago*, *Camulodulo*, *Colonia* (*ubi est*), *Durcinate*, *Duroviguto*, *Durobrisin*, *Ventâ Icenorum*.—Here there seems but little more to do, but to supply a few names of places, and to add the distances; and this itinerary form

\* The station *Pontibus*, lying between *Londinium* and *Tamesis*, appears to have been omitted, for a reason which may be seen at a subsequent page. *Vindomæ* had been probably mentioned before under some other name.

may account for the repetition of various places, as Londinium and Camulodunum, through which the iters may have passed more than once. It may however be remarked, that some apparent repetitions in Ravennas, when examined, will, in reality, be found to be different places. Thus, his first Salinæ does not seem to be the same as his second Salinæ; as we are informed by Ptolemy that there was a place of that name in the territories of the Catieuchlani, supposed to be the modern Saludy. There is no repetition of Corinium, an important station, as asserted by Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*.

There is also nearly an exact concurrence in the first stations along the Roman wall, taken from the east to the west, with the Notitia. We may accordingly proceed to give the commencing stations for comparison, and in the same order as is observed in both works.

RAVENNAS.

Serduno.  


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Conderco.  
Vindovala.  
Onno.  
Celunno.  
Brocoliti.  
Volurtion.

---

Æsica.

NOTITIA.

Segedunum.  
Pons Ælii.  
Condercum.  
Vindobala.  
Hunnum.  
Cilurnum.  
Procolitia.  
Borcovicius.  
Vindolana.

---

Æsica.

In the remaining eight stations, Ravennas has only three or four that correspond, and these are transposed. It is doubtful if one of them, his Maia, be the Magnæ along the line of the wall (see before p. 99), or some other place to the south.

It is singular to note the number of towns mentioned in the Notitia, Ravennas, Antoninus, and Nennius, and comparatively the few they have in common. If this is to be taken as an indication that towns quickly rose and fell into decay in Britain, the reason may be inquired why? But such was probably not the case. It may be possibly some explanation, that Antoninus notes the towns, itinerary stations, and “mansiones,” i.e. smaller stations on the line of Roman roads; the Notitia, the forts, along the line of the wall of Severus, or garrisons in the vicinity, or to the south of it, or those on the south-eastern coasts; Nennius, the principal cities after Saxon domination, had commenced; while Ravennas gives the towns generally, throughout the whole island, a larger number of itinerary stations than Antoninus, and some of the fortified places (castra) as he tells us. The Peutingerian tables, and Ptolemy again, give several towns diverse from all.

A part of Ravennas' work, relating to the Roman Wall, is authenticated by as singular a discovery of a Roman inscription as perhaps ever occurred. It is on a brazen drinking cup, and recites the names of five stations on the line of the Roman Wall, or several of them at least. The inscription reads

A MAISABATTAVAVXETODVMCAMBOCEANSBANNA.

The letters well formed and plain enough; though with the Ls inverted, an E put for an L, a C for an O, and an I omitted; but of the true reading of the whole there is not the slightest doubt, which is as follows:—

A MAIS ABALLAVA VXELODVMO AMBOCLAN(I)S BANNA.

These are all stations on the western portion of the Roman Wall, occurring in the following order, from east to west, Maiaæ, Amboglanaæ, Banna, Aballava, Uxelodunum. The distance from the first named to the last in a direct line is  $22\frac{1}{2}$  miles; and between Uxelodunum and Aballava, two stations in the inscription, Lugubalia and Congavata are omitted, as they also are from some unknown cause in Ravennas, though Lugubalia occurs in Antoninus.

Now the following are the respects in which this document corroborates Ravennas; namely, in transposing Uxeludianum and Aballava, and in giving the first-mentioned name in that form, and not as Axelodunum. The order in Ravennas rather leads to the idea that Banna is the same station as Amboglanna (Burdoswald), or Petriana (Cambeck Fort); but on the cup it is placed distinct from the first, which seems to show that if it be along the Wall it must be Petriana.

We may shortly describe the drinking cup. It seems of about the common size and form of which many are found, *i.e.* about three and a half inches over, and nearly of the same height. The inscription is on a fillet or necking, going round it just under the rim. Below this a fret, about three-fourths of an inch deep, also surrounds the cup at its most bulging part. The fret is filled up with two irregularly-formed half circles or crescents, placed back to back, in a near approach to each other, and occupying the alternate spaces; the others are filled up with four small squares. Below these, to the bottom, the whole space is divided into squares. And, as far as we may judge, the date of this ancient relic is about the reign of Constantius II, or A.D. 350. It was found in a



well at Rudge coppice, in Wiltshire, where are tessellated pavements and many Roman remains. The place is on the Icknield-street, near Froxfield, and stated to be six miles from Marlborough.



It appears most probable that the names of these five stations were inscribed on this cup for no other object than to render it more saleable to Roman officers or soldiers, quartered at some of those stations ; and it may be suggested, that multiplied similar specimens may have been manufactured for the same purpose. It is mentioned that a discovery somewhat similar has been made in the commencement of the present year, 1852, resulting from excavations under the direction of the father Marchi, among the foundations of ancient baths, in the park of the Villa Vicarello, at Rome. The discovery, in this instance, consisted of three silver drinking cups, which were inscribed with an itinerary of the road from Rome to Cadiz, with somewhat fewer stations than are given by Antoninus.

As to our Rudge cup, we may add, that it is described and engraved in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 49, and also in Gough's *Camden*, vol. i, p. 113, as well as mentioned in Sir Richard Colt Hoare's *Wiltshire*, vol. ii, p. 121. It was formerly in possession of the Earl of Hertford.

It is certainly somewhat unaccountable that Antoninus in the beginning of the third century, and that the *Notitia* at

the end of the fourth, should have Lugubalia (Carlisle), and our inscription on this cup in the middle of the same century, as also Ravennas' in the middle of the seventh, omit it. There seems no arguing on this point; and it is also observable that this Rudge inscription, as well as Ravennas', omits Congavata, which, like Lugubalia, is an intermediate station between Uxelodunum and Aballava on the line of the wall.

We may add the following few miscellaneous remarks on Ravennas, from Horsley:—

From the word Tamaris, at the commencement of Ravennas, it plainly appears he begins at the Land's End. Onna may be Vindomæ, Ardaoneon Sorbiodunum. Armis for Aquis, through the Greek ὕδατα θερμά. Metambala for Trajectus of the Itinerary, also through the Greek. It is probable Ravennas omitted the towns of Pons Ælii, and Pontibus, and ad Pontes, thinking them only bridges. Iacio Dulma, he thinks, is put for the Magiovinium, which he regards as Dunstable; and the town Loxa, he observes, is put in Ptolemy as a river.

With respect to Iacio Dulma, it is probably not statio Dulma, but an error of transcription, similar to Jamissa for Tamissa, *i.e.* the Thames, in Ptolemy. It should apparently be read Tacio, *i.e.* Tascio Dulma, as being a royal or chief city of the Cassii. The name of another place in the west of England, in Ravennas, Nemetotacio, *i.e.* royal or chief temple, or city of the royal temple is very similar. Horsley expressed some objection to make use of the treatise of Ravennas, in compiling his learned work on Roman Britain, as not knowing its date or authority. He seems to have overcome his reluctance in the end, for which he may be applauded, as it is without doubt a valuable document, as regarding ancient British geography, well deserving a careful re-editing in this country.

We may now notice another writer mentioning Britain—Pomponius Mela. He lived in the reign of the emperor Claudius, and wrote a work of geography, entitled *De Situ Orbis*. This author is singularly meagre for the purpose of our present inquiries. He scarcely more than notes, that the island was divided into various kingdoms, between which were frequent wars; and that it had forests and woods, and very large tide rivers.

Nor is another writer, Solinus, to be omitted, who wrote a work of general geography, entitled *Polyhistor*. He lived in

the reigns of Heliogabulus, and of Alexander Severus; but singularly enough, his description applies to the state of Britain at least a century before Christ. He mentions no towns, but gives a series of traditions, relating more to the British islands than to Britain—legends which could only have originated when there was no authentic information current respecting the islands. He mentions none of the British states or tribes, excepting the Dumnonii, who, he states, held the Scilly Islands. This is important, as it shows the Romans left this people as a separate state, under their protection in the third century. His words are, "*Siluram quoque insulam quam gens Britanna Dumnonii tenent.*"

Solinus is allowed to be a writer of an inferior class, and his commentators give a most contemptuous character of him. Scaliger calls him "*Auctorem valde futilem*;" Salmasius, "*Mirum nugatorem*;" and "*Mirum Miscellionem*;" and "*omnia turbantem et confundentem simium.*" That is, to translate these various expressions, they style him "A futile writer; a concoctor of a medley; a very ape and mimic of an author, obscuring and confusing everything." Our particulars of date we may gather from the circumstance that Solinus mentions the taking of Jericho by the later Artaxerxes, the restorer of the Persian kingdom, which occurred A.D. 225. Dodwell, in his dissertation on Isidore, thinks he was consul in A.D. 218.

Whether or not this idea of Dodwell's be correct, yet, that the great majority of Roman writers, whose works have descended to us, were of the equestrian class, and of high rank, is very obvious. Witness the instances of Cæsar, Cicero, Tacitus, Seneca, Velleius Paterculus, and others. Possibly opulence was necessary, to multiply the first copies of works; particularly those of a historical nature, the production of which was necessary to go forth as specimens before the public, and to form the first foundations of a literary reputation.

We may mention Strabo next to Solinus, as there may be an opportunity of extracting another passage from an ancient author, supposed formerly to relate to the Dumnonii, doubted and otherwise applied since, but which possibly may be best again restored to the application some of our earlier writers supposed it to have. The passage in question is in that part of Strabo's work in which the voyages of Pytheas are mentioned; which voyages our author unfortunately disbelieved,

and treated with too much contempt to notice any great part of their contents, though they are now very generally received as true; otherwise, as Pytheas navigated in this part of the world, we should undoubtedly have had many curious particulars respecting ancient Britain. Strabo thus chiefly mentions Pytheas to combat his authenticity, and stigmatize him as an inventor; and his principal motive for mentioning him at all, appears to be because he was held in great estimation by the philosopher Erasthenes and other learned men of those times.\* The following then is the passage from the end of the first book thought by Camden and others to refer to the Dumnonii. It may here be given in a translated form, premising that the name "Ostidamnii," from a various reading of Ostimnii in the Parisian manuscript, is most generally referred to the Osismii, inhabitants of the western extremity of Armorica, and Uxisama, the island mentioned, to Ushant on the same coast. The extract is as follows, the subject of which Strabo is treating being the breadth of Europe:—"Thereto is yet to be added the curvature made by Spain towards the west beyond the columns of Hercules, which is not less than 3000 stadia; and the extreme parts of the lands, as that of the Ostidamnii, which is called Kalbion, and the islands adjacent to it, of which Pytheas says the furthest Uxisama is distant three days' navigation. He, when he notes these things, adds these last particulars, which do not refer at all to the breadth of Europe, relating to the promontories and to the Ostidamnii and Uxisama, and the islands of which he speaks; for these are towards the north, and are in Celtica and not in Spain; indeed they are rather fabrications of Pytheas."

Now were Strabo really speaking of the Osismii of Armorica, in Gaul, inhabitants of the districts round the modern Brest, in Roman possession at the time, and of the island of Ushant, lying off their coast, it would be strange, indeed, if he intended to pronounce the mention of these places as fabrications; and stranger still, if he could think that the isle of

\* Pytheas is said to have been fitted out B.C. 350, by the merchants of Marseilles, to make maritime discoveries. Having passed through the straits of Gibraltar he arrived at Britain, the eastern shores of which he coasted, and having landed, and traversed some distance by a land journey, he sailed thence towards the Baltic, and shortly afterwards proceeded on his return southward. The authenticity of the voyage of Pytheas has some years since been ably vindicated by M. Lelewel, in his dissertation, entitled *Pytheas de Marseille*. 8vo, Brussels, 1836.

Ushant, lying close to the coast of the Osismii, could be meant under the name of Uxisama, when the isle, mentioned by Pytheas, was stated to be three days' sail distant. The isle of Ushant was not only in sight, but within eleven miles of the French coast. It would have been therefore the same kind of absurdity as if he had said that the Isle of Wight was within three days' sail of Britain. But as the promontory of the Dumnonii was called, in his time, Belerion, or possibly even Antivestæum, and not Kalbion; and as the Dumnonii do not seem to have been called Ostidamnii in his days, he might probably have distrusted Pytheas from that cause; or possibly he might not have recognised the island Uxisama under that name, thought to have been one of the Hebrides, and situated at about three days' sail from Kalbion, or Belerion, that is the Land's End. There therefore seems no reason to dissent from Camden's interpretation. The meaning of the name Ostidamnii, seems to be no other, according to Baxter, than "Vassals of the Dumnonii" (Ueis tu Duvnion); and, as far as credit may be given to the Irish Chronicles, the tribe of Brigantes, from Spain, or part of them, were held here in subjection by the Dumnonii, to work in the mines, till about the year B.C. 500, when they revolted, and emigrated to the north of England, where they were afterwards established.--*O' Connor's Chronicles of Eri*, 8vo, 1822, vol. i, pp. 98, 324, and vol. ii, p. 273. This event indeed is attributed 150 years before the earliest date, B.C. 350, assigned to the voyage of Pytheas. It however shows the reputed custom of the Dumnonii, who, after the departure of the Brigantes, might have held others in the like servitude. Nevertheless, the learned Baxter hardly seems justified in calling, as he does, in his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, p. 19, the Cornish language "Ostidamniorum dialectum;" i.e. the Ostidamnian tongue; it being unlikely, as before noted, that the name of the Ostidamnii was kept up in Roman times.

Of other matters mentioned by Strabo, referring to Britain, we have details from him of its length, breadth, and relative situation; particulars about the Bards and Druids, and of the relations subsisting between the inhabitants of the island and the Roman government.

Some few other geographical accounts can be referred to, respecting the state of Britain in early times, mostly brief and obscure. The collection of ancient geographers, called

*Geographi Minores*, edited at Paris, in 1889, contains two *Peripluses*, as they are termed, of Britain, one of them that of Marcian of Heraclea. These are no other than very general descriptions of the whole group of the British islands, containing particulars of their length, breadth, situation, and names, apparently written to illustrate geographical maps, which, at the date of A.D. 250, the time when Marcian lived, doubtless began much to abound. Much of this nature is also the description of Pliny, iv, 30, who seems designedly to confine himself to general particulars only. Pliny notes the tin and lead of Britain in other passages, but hardly seems to credit the production of the former in these islands, in one place, xxxiv, 49, but seems to admit it in another, iv, 30.

Much to the purpose of the present researches, is the part of the ancient map, called the *Peutingerian tables*, relating to Britain. This map, supposed the oldest in the world, has only the eastern extremity of Britain: and though the countries in this map, as delineated in it, are represented much distorted, yet, in this instance, the proportions seem to have been extremely well preserved; the proper contour of the coasts of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, being, in a great degree, represented, as also the outline from the Thames, round the south-east coast, to about Chichester, where the map terminates, the last portion westward having been lost. This ancient map is traced, by internal evidence, to have been in Palestine, in the fourteenth century. It is judged to have had additions by some monk, but only so far as introducing the figures of the Virgin Mary, etc., and is, without doubt, the copy of an older performance. This copy might have been used by the Crusaders, and, in all probability, became a part of the literary stores of some convent, in Palestine or Syria. It may be worth notice, that there might possibly be ground for a suspicion, that having become imperfect in the western part, which contains Britain, some ancient possessor might have accommodated the names of the two westernmost stations on the fragment, to those which should have been in that position. had the map of the island been entire. Were this so, it would account for the two names with which the map now presents us; and which, according to the contour of the eastern parts of the island, seem to stand so disproportionably out of place. The alteration supposed would have been *Anderida Portu*, and *Adurno xv*, to *IsCADUMNOMORUM*, and *Ridumo xv*,

which further, as they are now placed on the map, stand in an inverted order; the first of them to the west of the other, instead of the contrary.

The dimensions of the Peutingerian map are, from east to west, twenty-one feet; from north to south, one foot only. Hence it is necessarily much distorted in its representation of various countries; and as, from its great length, it was obliged to be engraved in many detached portions, it is justifiable to call it the Peutingerian tables, in the plural number. It was discovered in a library at Spires, by Conrad Celtes, in the fifteenth century, and given by him to his friend Conrad Peutinger. It was engraved by Velser, half size, in 1598, and inserted in several geographical works about that time. It was published in full size in 1750, by De Scheyb, at Vienna; and again in 1824, by Mannaert, at Leipzic, from the same plates.

The mention of the defective state of the Peutingerian tables, regarding Britain, may lead us to note the loss of other works of classic date, or parts of them, in which were accounts which would have highly illustrated the geography of ancient Britain. We may enumerate them thus chronologically, that is, the principal of them; the list is, doubtlessly, capable of being much augmented.

I. The two works of Pytheas: his Treatise on the Ocean (*περὶ τοῦ ὠκεανού*); and the other, his Description of the Earth (*γῆς περιόδος*). As he visited this island in his voyages, there is no doubt that Britain was a leading subject in these two works. The date of them was about 350 years before Christ.

II. The account by Cotta, of Cæsar's Expedition to Britain, mentioned by Athenæus, in his *Deipnosophist*, vi, 21. III.

The account, in the 105th Book of Livy, of Cæsar's Expedition, not now extant. IV. The part of the Annals of Tacitus, giving

an account of Claudius's Expedition. V. The part of Spartian's Roman Emperors, relating to Britain. VI. The account of

Diodorus Siculus, which he informs us (v, 21) he intended to give in detail of Britain, accompanying his account of Cæsar's

Expedition, in addition to the particulars which he has given us in his first, third, and in the said fifth book. VII. The

particulars and description given by Ammianus Marcellinus, which he mentions he had drawn up to the best of his

power (*pro captu virium*). VIII. The original work of Stephanus Byzantinus de Urbibus. Of this we only possess

an abridgment by Hermolaus, in which the mention of Britain

is but slight. IX. Parts of Dion Cassius, relating to the reign of Nero; and, excepting fragments, the loss indeed of his whole concluding twenty books. X. The History of Pompeius Trogus, many parts of which must have related to Britain. To the above must also be added, XI, the works of Cæsius, brother of Gregory of Nazianzum, who flourished in the fourth century, and wrote on the laws, manners, and customs of ancient nations. A short extract from this compilation is given in Dr. Cramer's *Anecdota Græca*, vol. iv, p. 237. Oxford Edition.

We now revert again to the doubtful work entitled *De Situ Britannie*, and attributed to Richard of Cirencester. It will be found that this work has generally been condemned in gross, or approved in gross; and though it appears to be spurious, yet the assumed new information it contains is, in some instances, sufficiently remarkable, and requiring to be traced in its various ramifications. An examination, therefore, of it, in some detail, may be of use.

This publication then, whether it be a forgery or authentic, is certainly a very comprehensive concentration of all we know otherwise of our ancient British geography, with very considerable additions. It is most probably entirely spurious; but if so, it is worked up with such consummate art, that it has deceived some eminent historical writers, as well as many able antiquaries. Most of the antiquarian works published in England since the year 1758 have referred much to it. It is quoted by the historians Lingard and Lappenberg, and by the Danish historian Suhm, in an ethnological treatise. There are therefore many points connected with this work deserving inquiry: and the reader may with advantage be made acquainted with its general bearing and contents, as also with the principal features of the question, whether it be spurious or not.\*

To Charles Julius Bertram, Professor of the English Language at the Royal Naval School, Copenhagen, is due the merit or disgrace of bringing this work forward. The

\* Though entertaining a disbelief as to the authenticity of this supposed ancient work, it has been thought best to give the subject full discussion, in order to trace out its various ramifications, and to show the complicated nature of the forgery, if it be one. There are some peculiarities indeed of this work, which are either the results of artful contrivance, or are undesigned coincidences; but, as we judge the former, it is better to let this appear by an investigation of the particulars, or at any rate to afford others a means of forming their own judgments on the case.



circumstances relating to its first appearance are partly favourable and partly unfavourable to its authenticity; rather more the latter, perhaps, than the former. We may reserve, however, an examination of them to the concluding part of this inquiry, when some few particulars respecting Bertram will be added.

Suffice it then to say, for the present, that it appeared in Denmark in the years 1757 and 1758, and in England in the latter year, and at once began to be considered as a species of national document.

The work was found to decide doubtful points, to contain an Itinerary much more ample than that of Antoninus, and otherwise to impart much new information.

Much of it was professed, by its alleged writer, Richard of Cirencester, to be a compilation; another part fragments; while an important portion of it consisted in a map of Roman Britain, which far excelled that of Ptolemy, and bore considerable appearance of being a compilation of the fourteenth century, in which Richard lived. The work on its first appearance was considered, on the whole, as a great boon by the learned. Some regarded Richard as a forger, but not a doubt was raised respecting Bertram for nearly three-quarters of a century; and those investigators who went in advance of their age in learning and acuteness, as Whitaker, Roy, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Ritson, and others, admitted it no less unreservedly than the rest. Thus it continued to advance in reputation, when, in 1838, the English Historical Society, then engaged in republishing ancient documents, by a vote of their council, omitted it from their collection, and issued a paper stating the doubtful character in their opinion of it, and explaining the reasons which had led them to reject it from received materials of English history. This was followed, in 1845, by a violent attack upon it by a Mr. Wex, in a foreign periodical, the *Rheinisches Museum*, neue Folge vierter Jahrgang drittes Heft, pp. 346 to 353, published at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. It was translated in full in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1846, p. 365 to 369. Mr. Wex, however, did not write in connexion with the English Historical Society, nor indeed appear to know of their opinion on this author.

The English Historical Society had made no lengthened research on the subject of Richard. Some of their members dissented; and, indeed, their decision was so far deferred, that they suggested further inquiry should be made as to

the existence of an original manuscript of the work. As to Mr. Wex he seems to have been ignorant of the existence of such writers in the middle ages as John of Salisbury and Peter de Blois, who were well read in a wide range of classics; and, therefore, as the author of the *De Situ Britannia*, the work attributed to Richard of Cirencester, must have been so, he erroneously judged it a conclusive argument against the authenticity of it. Nor was this all. Mr. Widmore, the librarian at Westminster, having produced a document authenticating the journey of the supposed author to Rome, he infers a collusion of parties in England and Denmark to bring forward a spurious work. In the meanwhile three editions, published in this country, of the *De Situ Britannia*, from 1839 to 1847, are certainly an argument of a more than common interest entertained for it.

It is not now denied that, admitting Richard of Cirencester to have been the author, he might have had the same classical authors to consult in the 14th century as we have at the present day. In some cases he might have had works now lost, or more perfect manuscripts of those we have, of which there are traces in Matthew of Westminster, William of Malmesbury, and Guido de Colonna. It is certain that were Richard of Cirencester the author, there is scarcely any one more favourably testified of in the middle ages, or one whom we might have judged more competent to have performed the task. Pitseus, in his work *De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, p. 562, notes his historical knowledge, and his travels to examine the various libraries of England: we have just seen that he made foreign travels as well. Vossius, in his *Scriptores Latini*, remarks his industry as a chronicler; and Bishop Nicholson, in his *English Historical Library*, p. 65, speaking of a work attributed to him, his *Speculum Historiale ab Hengisto*, adds, that it appeared that he had treated also of much higher times, but his authority for saying so is not known. All this is the favourable side of the question; however, we shall see presently that the entire facts of the case wear a much more unpromising aspect.

To proceed now with the contents of the work; and first as to the map: the author, whether he be Richard of Cirencester or Bertram, plainly tells us it is a compilation; and it may almost be pronounced to be formed on such a one as that in Gough's *British Geography*, 4to, 1780, p. 22, as also in vol. i.

of his *British Topography*, the original of which map he tells us he bought at Mr. Thomas Martin's sale in, 1774. This, of course, is said as to the shape and form of the islands Britannia and Hibernia; as the filling up of the map is chiefly from Ptolemy, but with considerable additions and alterations. On this map Richard appears to give most of the ancient British states, as far as may be judged, in their proper places. We may, however, except the Cangi. These he has placed near Anglesea, where it would seem the Ordovices were exclusively located. The Cangi, it may be thought, should more correctly be placed in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, between the Cornavii and Icenicoritani, which is a tract of country occupied by no other British state, and agrees well with their position as mentioned by Tacitus.

With a general fidelity there are several other errors in his map, as also in his work, relating to British states. There is no reason to suppose that there was ever such a British tribe as the Hedui. They are unmentioned by Ptolemy, and there is no trace of them except in this author; but we find that he mistakes Divitiacus, king of the Ædui, mentioned by Cæsar, for Divitiacus, king of the Suessiones, which last possessed territories in Britain. This may account for the error in the map and work: however, as far as we know by other information, the Suessiones had no more territories in the island passing under their name than the Ædui.

That the Ædui are not mentioned as a British tribe by other authorities is not strictly a reason for disbelieving their existence; but, with the probability of error existing in this instance, we may consider it as a parallel case with the inhabitants of Wiltshire being called Severi by Leland, in his *Collectanea*, vol. iii, in which he is followed by Nicholas Lloyd. See Dr. Musgrave's *Belgium Britannium*, 8vo, 1719, p. 34, the same being probably an error, from the supposed ancient name of Salisbury, "Severia," which appellation, according to Baxter, is found in the works of John of Salisbury.

Almost one of the first subjects which occupied the attention of inquirers on the commencement of antiquarian research, in the 16th century, was the identification of the river Antona of Tacitus. This river, it must be recollected, is made somewhat notable by the mention of it in this author, who tells us that war was produced between the Romans and Icenicoritani, from

a series of forts along its banks, which formed a connected line of defence with those on the Severn, and gave offence to the last-named people. That the Antona, in ordinary acceptation, meant the Warwickshire Avon, there is no doubt; and it is easy to imagine that there might have been a real molestation and grievance.

A line of forts along the Severn, as the celebrated Roman historian describes (*Annals*, xii, 31), and supported by another reserved line in the rear, along the Avon, though the purpose of them might only have been to hem in the Silures, yet might not only have proved an annoyance to the Iceni-Coritani, but also, in some instances, have encroached on their territory. However, many antiquaries seem to have thought, and many do up to this present day, that the line of forts was constructed between the Severn and the River Nen, in Northamptonshire; and that the Antona, in that passage, meant not the Avon but the Nen, forgetting that, in this case, the line of defence would have been against the Iceni, to the north, with whom they were at peace, while there would have been none against the Silures, to the west, with whom they were in a state of hostility. Among those who thought that the Antona was the Nen, was the celebrated Lipsius, the commentator on Tacitus; while Camden states that the ancient name of the Nen was not Antona but Aufona: and a learned writer, Dr. Giles, in his *History of the ancient Britons*, 8vo, 1847, p. 83, informs us that several copies have, in the passage of Tacitus, by a happy emendation, Aufona, not Antona, leaving it however doubtful, by his manner of expression, whether manuscript authority to the effect exists. On the point in question, Richard's map has Aufona for the Nen, and Antona for the Warwickshire Avon. Likewise, in his fourteenth iter, he has a station, "ad Antonam," which has been assigned to the banks of the Avon, though the exact spot seems not decided.

The foregoing point, properly speaking, implies nothing either way; the next two are rather favourable than otherwise. Richard of Cirencester, in his map, represents the Trivona, or Trent, not flowing northward to the Humber, its present course, but taking its course from near Newark, eastward to the sea. Singularly enough, Mr. De la Pryme, a Lincolnshire antiquary, in some manuscript papers, had expressed his opinion that such had anciently been the case. But this opinion of

Mr. De la Pryme was not made known till after the publication of the work *De Situ*. See Stukeley's *Account of Richard of Cirencester*, 4to, 1757, pp. 27, 28; and *Itinerarium Curiosum*, second edition, 1776, vol. ii, p. 120. It may be said that in the first edition of the *Itinerarium Curiosum*, published 1733, vol. i, towards the beginning, Stukeley had expressed his opinion that the ancient artificial communication between the Nen and the Witham, called the Carsdike, had been made by the Romans, and had said that also another ancient cut had been made from the Witham to Torksey on the Trent, to enable the Romans to forward supplies of corn to their army in the north; but he says nothing, in that first edition, of the probability that the Trent had once no other exit except to the east, which did not appear till the subsequent date before mentioned.

Again, on the map appears marked the province *Vespasiana*, as also is described in his text, lib. i, c. vi, 2. This appeared for the first time in the work *De Situ*, being mentioned in no other work whatever, ancient or modern, now extant. Stukeley observes, in his *Account*, above referred to, p. 72, that Wittichind, a Saxon writer, had stated that Britain had been divided into provinces by Vespasian. See also, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, vol. ii, p. 141. This, strictly speaking, proves nothing; it not being asserted by Wittichind that Vespasian or his general formed that particular province. Indeed, as it appears from the work of Sextus Festus Rufus, that *Maxima Cæsariensis*, a consular province, existed A.D. 369, the impression would rather be that it comprehended all the parts to the north. However, as Theodosius, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, divided a province into two consular ones (see before, p. 98), it is scarcely safe to speculate on matters of this kind.

In the subject of maps there appears to have been a great inequality of execution in the middle ages. In fact, they were all manuscript maps, and there was no distinct class of map-makers, as was the case after the invention of printing. Thus the generality of them, down to the middle of the fourteenth century, were inferior to those appended to Ptolemy, which Cellarius informs us, were the production of Agathodemon in the fifth century, though Mr. Martin's, above referred to, was much superior. One that Hearne saw was so coarsely done, that he could not tell whether it comprehended the whole of England or not. Again, Mr. Martin's

is superior in the southern parts to Ptolemy, yet, in many respects, except in declination to the east, was inferior to his map of Caledonia. Richard's map is not so true to the actual form of the southern parts of the island as Mr. Martin's; and in Scotland has little more than the rectification of the inclination to the east. But Richard's map has almost an exact conformity to the ancient Mappa Mundi in Hereford Cathedral, as to the relative proportions of Britain and Ireland; and, as it is unlikely that Bertram should have seen that map, it is rather an argument in favour. It seems difficult to bring direct proofs of its authenticity. But, with such a map as Mr. Martin's for the south of England, and Ptolemy's for the northern parts of the island, there appears no reason why a similar map to that in the *De Situ Britanniae* should not have been compiled.

Leaving now the map of Richard of Cirencester for the present, we may notice various particulars in the text.

There is a considerable appearance that the Roman walls and barriers against the Caledonians, constructed by Hadrian, Lollius Urbicus, and Severus, are duly discriminated in Richard's work, though not an absolute certainty. See lib. i, c. vi, 35, lib. ii, c. i, 22, and lib. ii, c. ii, 18. He likewise correctly pointed out with what nations in Britain the wars of Vespasian, as mentioned by Suetonius, in his life of that emperor (c. 4), were carried on, showing that his opponents, with whom he had thirty engagements, were the Belgæ and Dumnonii, lib. ii, c. i, 14; this, though when it is examined, is sufficiently obvious, is still overlooked by many of the readers of Tacitus. Dr. Musgrave, it is believed, first pointed out that the Belgæ were one of the nations, in his *Belgium Britannicum*. 8vo, 1719, p. 97.

Pausanias mentions, in his eighth book, c. 43, that in the reign of Antoninus, the Romans declared war against the Brigantes, because they had commenced hostilities with the district (*μοῖρα*) of Genounia. Richard (lib. i, c. vi, 25,) makes this region to have been the country of the Ordovices, Cangi, and Cornavii, which, he says, acquired the name after the reign of Trajan, but professes to speak only from report. The value of the fact, as recorded in Pausanias, has been fully considered in the foregoing Book i, and the inscription found at Chester, illustrative of this part of the kingdom, has been also given. (See the former, page 16). In result, it is plain that the work

of Richard of Cirencester, whether genuine or an invention, contains no more on the subject in question than what is found in Pausanias and in the inscription, with the exception of what is added apparently entirely by conjecture.

As to Caledonia and the Northern part of Britain, the additions of Richard are very extensive, according to that accurate observer General Roy, who paid the greatest attention to that portion of the Geography of the Island for many years of his life. That eminent man and acute inquirer had no suspicions of the genuineness of the work, but on the contrary gives the following testimony of his author: "It is evident that Richard has borrowed very considerably from the Alexandrian geographer; yet there is one part of his work, namely, that including the *Diaphragmata* (*i. e.* the *Itinerary*), which is quite new and curious, and carries along with it the appearance of being truly genuine."

The *Itinerary* we may, therefore, now attend to, which, indeed, particularly illustrates Caledonia. Roy made the singular discovery that North Britain, in Ptolemy, inclines so much to the East, not from error of survey, but because the particular map from which his delineation of Great Britain was taken had been torn off in that part, and was afterwards replaced, not in its proper position, but turned on one side. By this erroneous replacement he shews that a station or town, Trimontium, near a remarkable mountain with three peaks, Eildon Hills, which he is able to identify, was removed about thirty-five miles out of its proper site to the West (*Military Antiquities*, p. 116). The extent of Richard's sources of information it seems, supposing him the author, did not enable him to correct this; and a second station, Gadanica, in his Iter ix, is thrown completely out by it. Roy, indeed, supposes this last accidentally transposed, and placed North of Trimontium instead of South of it; and it is not improbable Richard may have done so. This may be taken as some slight argument that Bertram was not the concoctor of the *Itinerary*; for if he possessed that intimate local knowledge of Scotland to be able to invent the several routes in the *Itinerary*, he possibly might have been induced to seek credit and originality by correcting this error of misplacement in the said ninth Iter.

In a former passage, at p. 114, where Roy had touched on this subject, his remarks are: "The erroneous map of Britain

made by the false junctions hereabouts . . . appears to be one principal cause to which this confusion and uncertainty are owing. Whoever it was who collected the materials first for, or who compiled Richard's *Itinerary*, must have experienced this difficulty; for though no fewer than four of his routes cross the province Valentia, yet the distances between the stations are either left wholly blank, or the amount of several of them taken together is only given in a general way. Richard does not even make his map correspond with these Itinera, but delineates his roads as passing through other places than those mentioned in the routes, several of which again he does not insert in his map. Hence, we may conclude, that in this particular province, at least, everything seemed dark and uncertain to him." Mr. Leman, however, the commentator on Richard's *Itinerary*, in Hatcher's edition, does not seem to give much into these views. In his remarks on the ninth Iter he thinks the line of road went on the western side of the island, as Richard gives it, and supposes Trimontium to be Birrenswork, which would be nearly in the situation indicated by the *Itinerary*. They both appear to maintain the opinion that in certain cases the Itineraries may have been made before the road. See Roy, p. 142, and Hatcher's Edition, p. 137; and Leman notes the want of correspondence between the map and the text in the fifth Iter, detailing a route from Curia, near the Roman wall, to Flamborough Head.

Altogether Richard gives four Iters, new, or partly new, relating to Scotland, the 4th, 5th, 9th, and 10th. This last, which extends from Inverness to the Land's End, is pronounced by Stukeley the only remaining monument of the Roman power in Scotland. These four Iters comprise sixty-eight stations, of which thirty-one relate to Scotland, and are wholly new; but three are common to the 9th and 10th Iters, which reduces the number of new stations to twenty-eight. These Roy examined with the research of an antiquary, and the talent of an experienced surveyor, and entertains not the least doubt but that such Iters and stations existed. Indeed, he considers the Iters a very great acquisition, and devotes a considerable portion of his work to their examination.

Roy, p. 119, in common with Sir John Clerk and other antiquaries, considers there are indications that the Brigantes must at one time have occupied the South Western part of



Scotland. Seneca appears to call the Brigantes the Scoto or Scutu-Brigantes. Richard does not touch on this point.

Richard mentions that the Romans erected altars to mark the utmost bounds of their dominions. Certain cairns on the banks of the Murray Frith are frequently supposed to have been intended for that purpose; however, Roy informs us, p. 188, that an inscribed stone was dug up in the year 1770, at Nigg, near Aberdeen, on which the lettering was R.I.M.L., which he thinks, correctly interpreted, "Romani imperii limes." Thus the matter seems left in some uncertainty.

Iter vii, another Northern Iter, though not a Caledonian one, we may here notice. This gives the line of road from Eburacum to a place called Portus Sistuntiorum, on the Irish Sea, situated either at the mouth of the river Ribble, or that of the river Wire. This has the first two stations from York, as in Antoninus; but the four latter ones are entirely new. There is but little doubt, it is believed, of the reality of this whole line of communication; nevertheless, the corroborative evidence of this Iter in favour of Richard is much weakened, as there existed two antiquarian maps of Yorkshire, one by Warburton, the Somerset Herald, who died 1759, in which vestiges of Roman roads were laid down; another considerably prior, by Overton, which is believed to have been of a similar nature. Four of the stations out of the six being in Yorkshire, an objector might, of course, avail himself of this circumstance, suggesting that a forger might have made use of the first of these documents, if not of the second.

Further, of his *Itinerary*, Iter ii, from Segontium in Wales, to Uriconium in Shropshire, is also new, being given by no one else; and the existence of the road and stations it is believed undeniable. Iters xv, xvii, and xviii, have also new stations and lines of road, and do not appear to present any improbabilities. Iter xi is on the Julia Strata, mentioned by Alexander Necham, a monkish writer of the thirteenth century, in these lines.

"Intrat et auget aquas Sabrinæ fluminis Osca  
Præceps, testis erit Julia strata mihi."

This passage is quoted by Camden, in his *Monmouthshire*, who concluded that it referred to a Roman line of way, in the vicinity of Isca Silurum, that is, Caerleon. Stukeley, to carry out the information afforded by the verses, had suggested a

Via Julia, from Caerleon, through Radnor to Meivod, in North Wales. But Richard's Via Julia is not the same; the Welch part of it skirting along the Southern coast of Wales, from Caerwent, and Caerleon to St. David's. It is testified as being correct, as far as testimony can be afforded, by a Mr. Fenton, who wrote a history of Pembrokeshire, and found a station not recorded in any Itinerary where this new Iter places one at the crossing of the river Taaf, or "ad Tibiam amnem," as it has it. This we are informed by Mr. Leman, in his Commentary on Richard's *Itinerary*, in Hatcher's edition of *Richard of Cirencester*, p. 144. It may be here observed, that the mention of rivers for stations: is more frequent in *Richard of Cirencester* than in Antoninus. As "ad Trivonam," "ad Antonam," etc. Dr. Stukeley, in his *Account of Richard of Cirencester*, 4to, 1757, p. 72, thinks this is an evidence that Richard's *Itinerary* is earlier than that of Antoninus, as being made before the stations had acquired name and eminence, as Roman towns, hamlets, or villages; possibly, however, it is no more than the different character of the two *Itineraries*, supposing them both genuine. One merely referring to the intrenchment on such a river, which was the real station, the other detailing the name of the Roman-British town, which might happen to be in nearest contiguity to the station.

Further, of the Julian Way of Richard of Cirencester; we are informed by General Roy, in his *Military Antiquities*, p. 110, that it is noted for several stone pedestals, occurring in different parts of it, which are supposed to have been bases of Roman milestones; though, except in one instance, the shafts are gone, and in that case no inscription at present remains. As Necham died in A.D. 1217, it is not impossible, however, that in his time many of the shafts might have remained with inscriptions, from which he even might have learnt the name of this line of road; as an African milliary inscription, in *Shaw's Travels*, folio, 1738, p. 156, seems almost to warrant that, in some instances, such information might be given; having VIAM A CARTHAGINE THEVESTEN: otherwise he may have learnt it by tradition. These pedestals, however, form a pretty strong additional presumptive proof of the superior accuracy with which the Julian Way is laid down by Richard; and if the work be a forgery, this incidental coincidence is somewhat striking.

Some researches, however, which we may make respecting

the fourteenth and eighteenth Iters, do not appear to present such favourable results. The first of these is from Isca Silurum to Lindum, and the second from Eburacum to Clausentum, and the point especially brought under notice is this.

It so happens that there are two Alchesters, one in Warwickshire, near Stratford, the other in Oxfordshire, near Bicester, the last usually written Alcester, without the *h*; one is a town, the other a village, and both are celebrated for Roman remains, which are found in and about them. Their common name is thought to have been Alauna, and they are supposed both to be noticed by Ravennas, who mentions that name twice in parts of his description of Britain which would apply to them. It is observable, however, that Baxter, who treats so largely of British etymologies, only considers the Warwickshire Alchester to have borne this name, (*Glossary of British Antiquities*, p. 10); and of the other Alchester he takes no notice whatever.

The Warwickshire Alchester is also mentioned by Richard in his fourteenth Iter, under its name Alauna. This Alchester, Baxter tells us, at the place above referred to, was also called by Matthew Paris, "Ellencester." There was also a third Alauna in Caledonia, as appears by reference to ancient sources, which, being likewise called Strivelin, is found, by dissection of the word according to Baxter, to be *Es Trev Alaun*; in British, "the town of Alauna;" such an interpretation, in his opinion, being the true sense of the word. As the Caledonian Alauna had become converted into Strivelin, it may be easily imagined that Matthew Paris's Ellencester might have originally borne the Roman appellation of *Ælia Castra*. Now, what is here intended to be noticed is this, that in the eighteenth Iter of Richard of Cirencester, this name, *Ælia Castra*, actually appears in the following sequence: *Bennonæ* to *Tripontium* 11 miles, *Tripontium* to *Isannavaria* 12 miles, *Isannavaria* to *Brinavis* 12, *Brinavis* to *Ælia Castra* 16, *Ælia Castra* to *Durocina* 15, *Durocina* to *Tamesis* 6, *Tamesis* to *Vindomum* 15, *Vindomum* to *Clausentum* 46. The modern names of the places intended, appear to be High Cross, Dowbridge, Weedon, Banbury, Alcester, Dorchester, Streatly-on-the-Thames, Silchester and Bittern. Here *Ælia Castra* is plainly put for the Oxfordshire Alcester, the place not meant by Matthew Paris; and it will be for the reader to judge—(1.) whether it makes against the authenticity of the work; that the Warwickshire Alchester was the one which was called Ellencester by the

said authority, and that there may be a suspicion that Bertram, supposing him a forger, had been off his guard and transposed the real thread and connection of the business; applying the name *Ælia Castra* to the wrong Alchester; or, (2,) on the other side of the question; as they both have the same modern name, and both are supposed to have been *Alaunas*, whether they may not both have been *Ælia Castras* too.

We may also refer to another passage in Richard's *Iter i*, as not producing on the whole a favourable impression. In this *Iter* it may be noticed that at *Bennonæ*, or High Cross, in Leicestershire, the Fosse-way intersects the Watling Street. The note therefore of Richard, on this station, is not exactly conformable to the fact. "Here the way (*i.e.* Watling Street) is divided into two branches, whereof one goes to Lincoln, the other in direction of *Uriconium*, thus;" his actual words being "*Hic bisecatur via: alterutrumque ejus brachium Lindum usque, alterum versus Uriconium protenditur, sic.*" Here is an evident misstatement, as a road, divided into two branches, is not precisely the same as a road crossed by another. This however might pass for a casual inaccuracy, had not Gale, in the map, in his *Commentary on Antoninus*, 4to, 1709, represented the road here as merely branched; since, though he inserts the Fosse-way to the North East to Leicester, he omits the South West continuation of it to Cirencester and Bath, which is equally as much a reality. This Gale apparently did, because *Antoninus*, his author, had no stations upon it. A forger thus might have been led into a mistake; but as Richard himself, with one exception, in *Iter xiv*, gives none on the Fosse, from Bath to *Bennonæ*, or High Cross, he may not have adverted to it in his note, somewhat in the same way as Gale omitted it in his map. It may also be said, it is unlikely that Bertram should have been unacquainted with his friend Stukeley's map of Roman roads in Britain, published in 1723, in which this other part of the Fosse is duly expressed.

Some of late, not discovering objections of the above kind, or disregarding them, would separate the *Itinerary* from the geographical and topographical part, and would pronounce one true, and the other false. But it must be remembered that the question we have to consider is, whether the work be actually the compilation of Richard of Cirencester as it is professed to be, or whether it be a forgery of Professor Bertram. This is the point mooted by Mr. Wex, who not long since

wrote a dissertation against the authenticity of the work *De Situ Britanniae*, and by others. Besides this, there are evidently references from the *Itinerary* to the descriptive chapters, though tacitly, and from these to the *Itinerary*.

This being in reality the main point, we have to ascertain not so much whether the facts are true, as whether the work is the genuine production of Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century and no one else. It is certain that from the present inquiry respecting the internal evidences of the work no undoubted proof has been obtained that it might not have been the work of a much later period and by another person. Whether others may succeed in finding this undoubted evidence from the internal contents of the work which we have now sought in vain, it is impossible to say. Indications of Roman roads in various quarters, corresponding with the *Itineraries*, is not sufficient evidence; for a person applying himself to forge an *Itinerary*, would naturally first endeavour to ascertain in what quarters lines of Roman roads before undescribed existed; and that such could be found even now there is but little doubt.

Generally speaking, as to his *Itinerary*, in his saying it comprised “*fragmenta quædam duce Romano relictæ, et posteritati consignatæ*,” it might be thought expressed sufficiently within compass to imply that it was a varied copy of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. However, it is universally thought not. Stukeley even doubted whether he had ever seen the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. Therefore deference is to be paid to the universally received opinion that, admitting it to be genuine, it is a separate document. Indeed the title “*dux*” does not precisely express the word emperor; and is undoubtedly used in a different sense by Richard himself, when in book i, c. vi, 28, he applies that term to Vespasian when a Roman general only. The *Itinerary* has a very great number of new stations,—above sixty, as well as numerous important variations, and will be again alluded to presently. There is clear internal evidence in it that it did not form part of an *Itinerary* of the Roman empire; the particular specifications in it showing it was made for Britain. As from its limited extent it would have been too small a production to have come down from antiquity separately, it might have been, admitting it genuine, an *Itinerary* at the end of the *Notitia Imperii* used in Britain, or attached to some other work relating to the island.

Those, then, that consider the work *De Situ Britannia* genuine, will form the supposition that the author met with an ancient Itinerary which he introduced; but for the other parts of his work he must of course have become possessed of ancient materials more extensive than an Itinerary; and such there seems reason to think might have been obtained in the 14th century. Some ancient monastic work might have been then extant within the age of John of Salisbury and Peter de Blois, and somewhat of the nature of the *Descriptio utriusque Britannia*, of which some account has been given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1847, and which is now lost. That very work itself, indeed he might have met with and made extracts from it. That other similar works of this class were not wanting in the middle ages we have the testimony of Thomas James, librarian of the Bodleian, who catalogued in a concise form the manuscripts of the Oxford and Cambridge libraries, published under the title of *Eclogæ Oxonio-Cantabrigienses*, 1600. He informs us of the following ancient document, deposited in the library of Benet College, Cambridge, a work of the venerable Bede, entitled *De Situ Britannia et milliaribus ejusdem*. This would seem, from the title, to have been somewhat of the nature of Richard's own work itself; and Bernard's *Catalogue of Manuscripts of England and Ireland*, folio, 1698, confirms it. However, Pitseus, in his *De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, 4to, 1619, p. 136, has instead "mirabilibus," that is, wonders. Nasmith's *Catalogue of Benet Library* has also mirabilibus, having the entry thus, lix 13: "Beda de situ Britannia, et de mirabilibus ejus," p. 37; and thus the matter is left in uncertainty till examination of the work itself.

As to our author, in his style he appears closely to imitate that of Solinus, the Latin geographer, of whom we have before spoken. Indeed he begins with the very commencing sentence of this ancient, and has evidently derived much from him. But, besides the works of authors themselves, there is evidently a possibility that writers in the middle ages might have obtained considerable topographical information from ancient scholiasts on the works of such authors as the one to whom we have now alluded—that is to say, Pomponius Mela and others. We see how plentifully augmented with notes and scholia the work of Nennius is come down to us. It is needless to remind the reader how copious the geographical

notes are on the *Orbis Descriptio* of Dionysius of Alexandria, from the pen of Eustathius, and those of other scholiasts. Bertram himself, in his notes on the second chapter of Richard's first book, suggests that he might have derived information from glosses on Cæsar, Solinus, or Bede. On the whole, it is almost surprising that we have not more information from marginal notes and commentaries on ancient works.

Of ancient authors that are known Richard quotes fourteen or fifteen, or more; such as Diodorus, Pliny, Cæsar, Mela, &c. whose names it is scarcely necessary to enumerate. He in general quotes them pretty correctly; though it is evident, from examining these, his sources of information, that he sometimes forms conclusions, and assumes facts not strictly deducible from them. The ancient British Chronicles he sparingly quotes. There are but slight traces of his having consulted the work of Nennius in his pages, and he has taken nothing from Gildas, except lib. ii, c. i, 36 and 37. Admitting the work of Richard to be genuine, he might have considered that he had sufficiently used the Chronicles in his other literary productions, and might have now meant to derive his information as much as possible from sources which were very different.\*

Two, by no means minor subjects in Richard's work are his provincial divisions of Britain, lib. i, c. vi, and his list of towns, lib. i, c. vii. His boundaries of the British provinces, —Britannia Prima, Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, and Valentia are considered very valuable, and have never been disputed. But there is no evidence for his province Vespasiana.

Having noted these six provinces of Britain, he also observes that the distinctions existed of Upper and Lower Britain. These, in his opinion, were prior to the former, probably erroneously, as they seem to have been, a species of popular division in extenso of the island, expressed after the departure of the Romans, as we find by Ravennas, by prima et secunda; when were also added, as appears by the same author, "tertia et quarta pars Britanniae," the latter extending far into Scotland. The Britannia Secunda of Ravennas seems to have been not

\* He is considered, however, in his Book II, c. i, 26, in his chronicle for the year of the world 4170, to mistake the Roderic of Geoffrey of Monmouth, iv, 17, for the Rheuda mentioned by Bede in his *History*, I, c. i (see Ritson's *Annals*, 12mo, 1828, vol. i, p. 136); but the passages in both the said authors are rather obscure.

Wales only, but to have included also all between the Thames and the Humber.

The general divisions of the six provinces being exhibited, he proceeds to describe, in a regular series, the various ancient British tribes or states as they lay respectively within the several provinces. This part of his work seems usually much referred to and approved, though all his statements are not implicitly received. Thus, in his lib. i, c. vi, 21, he understands of the Silures the tribe, what Solinus applies to the islands thus called: the "Insulæ Silurum" in fact, opposite the shores of the Dumnonii.

His list of British towns under Roman domination, divided into municipia, colonies, towns under Latian law, and stipendiary towns, was almost received by the learned with acclamation. The series of towns, given with their various descriptions, had certainly its peculiar feature of novelty, and is somewhat difficult to be either proved or disproved in the greater part of its particulars. Thus Londinium, not a colony in the reign of Nero, according to Tacitus, who says that it was "Coloniæ cognomento non insigne," that is, not distinguished by the name of a colony, might have become one before the Romans left, 340 years afterwards: and Eburacum, noticed as a colony by Camden, Vaillant and Batteley (*Antiquitates Rutupinæ*, p. 87), and the same confirmed in Gale's *Antoninus*, p. 24, and Wellbeloved's *History*, p. 102, might have been afterwards elevated to the municipal rank. There is scope enough for both these two contingencies, as our acquaintance with Roman affairs in Britain is so broken and imperfect. However it may be remarked generally, that there might have been the less probability of many of these distinctions having existed, as Caracalla so universally conferred the right of Roman citizenship, and granted such general immunities in the beginning of the third century.

Respecting Eburacum being a municipium, there possibly may be some colour for the supposition, from the palace of the Roman governor there, alluded to before. But were the work of Richard a forgery, it might have been a conjecture from the *Geography* of Bertius, who, in the part treating of the Peutingerian Tables, has a second copy of this relic (*scheda secunda*), in which the northernmost station AD TAVM is inserted AD MVM, by a wrong transcript, which by some it seems was supposed, till the publication of De Scheyb's edition, in 1750,



to refer to Eburacum, and to be a contraction for the words AD MVNICIPIVM.

Of other towns, Verulamium, which he describes as a municipium, is shown to have been so from Nennius, who calls it Caer Mencipit; Camulodunum we know to have been a colony, from Tacitus and an inscription, to say nothing of an alleged colonial coin in Goltzius, and Vaillant; Glevum and Lindum are also mentioned as colonies in Ravennas. There is no authority to show that Deva was a colony, further than a coin in Goltzius, very generally believed to be spurious.

The list, it may be observed, whether true or false, assumes to give incidentally some collateral information. In this manner we learn from it that the 7th Legion was at one time quartered in Britain, and that the 20th Legion was the same as that employed in the Getican war under Stilicho. The following may be perhaps useful as an analyzed view of his list: the number of towns comprised being, as he tells us, 33.

BRITANNIA PRIMA—(Cantii) Rutupium *colony*; Cantiopolis and Durobrivæ *stipendiary*. (Belgæ), Sorbiodunum *under Latian law*; Venta Belgarum and Durinum (or Durnovaria) *stipendiary*. (Dumnonii), Aquæ Solis *colony*; Isca Dumnoniorum *stipendiary*. (Segontiaci), Vindomum *stipendiary*.

BRITANNIA SECUNDA—(Silures) Isca Silurum *colony*; Venta Silurum, and Muridunum *stipendiary*. (Ordovices), Segontium, *stipendiary*.

FLAVIA—(Cassii) Verulamium *municipal*. (Trinobantes) Londinium, and Camulodunum *colonies*. (Iceni) Camboritum\* *colony*. Venta Icenorum *stipendiary*. (Dobuni) Glevum *colony*; Corinium *under Latian law*. (Iceni Coritani) Lindum *colony*; Durnomagus (or Durobrivæ) *under Latin law*; Ratæ *stipendiary*. (Cornavii) Deva, *colony*.

MAXIMA—(Brigantes) Eboracum *municipal*; Cataracton, Cambodunum, Coccium and Lugubalia *under Latian law*.

VALENTIA—(Brigantes) Bremenium *stipendiary*.

VESPASIANA—(Horestii) Victoria and Theodosia *under Latian law*. (Vacomagi) Ptoroton *under Latian law*.

Since the time of the publication of Richard's work, in the year 1757, no part of the above list has been shown to be either true or false by the discovery of inscriptions, and we

\* Camboritum is here supposed Cambridge: if it be Chesterford, as supposed by some, then it would have been in the territories of the Trinobantes.

have only those names of places verified which were so before, and which have been alluded to in the preceding page.

Generally, however, a very considerable proof was offered to the truth of this part of the work of Richard of Cirencester, by the publication of Mark the Anchorite's manuscript of Nennius, by Mr. Gunn, in 1819. They never had been mentioned before, other than as 28, by either the British chronicles, or such manuscripts of Nennius as spoke of them; but Mark's manuscript confirmed the number as 33: though, indeed, not more than two-thirds of that 33 are the same as those in Richard. This, it must be owned, is a considerable confirmation; and as the manuscript has been in the library of the Vatican, since A.D. 1689, it is unlikely that Bertram ever saw it. Indeed a kind of negative proof is, that he does not mention it in his own edition of Nennius. This manuscript was given by will by Christina, Queen of Sweden, to the Vatican Library, and it had been purchased by her out of the collection of Petavius, an author of eminence in the 17th century. The only uncertainty in this proof is that Bertram might, by possibility have seen it described in some publication as remarkable for this particular, that is, for containing a list of 33 principal cities in Britain while other copies of Nennius only specified 28. Dr. Giles, in his *Historical Documents concerning the ancient Britons*, 8vo, 1847, p. 335, expresses himself as if several manuscripts of Nennius had the number 33 (*quidam codices*), whereas only one has,—Mr. Gunn's, published in 1819, which is what he means. Geoffrey of Monmouth, iv. 19, asserts there were 28 Flamens, or Chief Priests of the Pagans in Britain, and 3 Arch-Flamens, which possibly may be understood to imply as many cities where they presided. But this would make 31 not 33.

It may be noticed that our author has not mentioned some principal places in his list of cities, as Ariconium, Uriconium, Anderida, Regnum, Calleva, Isurium, or Alauna, as well as some others, as Camalet and Warwick,\* in the body of his

\* Camalet is about six miles from Ilchester, and appears to have been a place of great strength, being triply intrenched. Roman coins, bronzes, and foundations of buildings, attest it to have been the site of a town; and it contains twenty-four acres within the inner intrenchment. No Roman road passes through it, and its ancient British or Roman name is not known. It may be judged, however, with some considerable degree of probability, to be the place marked Cadan on the ancient map in Hereford Cathedral. If so, we have some intimation of its medieval appellation.

work. But this, admitting the work to be genuine, might be merely classed as a peculiarity.

However, there may be even a favourable argument deduced from his omission of the traditional history of Warwick. This was collected with some care by John Rouse, the chronicler; and there seems quite sufficient written testimony to show that it must have been a place of considerable importance in British times and in the succeeding ones of the Romans. With all this it is rather singular that its name in those times is not certainly known. Camden erroneously presumed it was the same place as is called the *Præsidium* in the *Notitia Imperii*, which must evidently have been in a different direction near the Roman wall, and was probably only another name for Eboracum, or York. Salmon, the antiquary, who wrote much prior to the discovery of Richard's work, is very full of the supposed former importance of this place, in his *Roman Antiquities of the Midland Counties*, 8vo. 1726, pp. iii, 47 and 64. He was very confident it was a kind of central depot, or place of arms for the Roman power in Britain, and notes the number of Roman roads radiating from it. Now a forger might have taken advantage of this, and introduced Warwick conspicuously, having apparently the evidence of antiquity in his favour: whereas in Richard's work all mention of it is totally absent.

The foregoing remark may be followed up with observing, that of the numerous towns and garrisons mentioned by the *Notitia Imperii*, scarce any are transferred to Richard's work; a circumstance like the former requiring to be noticed, and possibly more in favour of the authenticity of this production than otherwise. With Ravennas there is more coincidence, as is the case between Antoninus and Ravennas; and Antoninus has also little coincidence with the *Notitia*; nor has Ptolemy.

We may now advert to some other points treated of by this author, and the topics connected with them.

In the very commencement of Richard of Cirencester's work, the *De Situ Britanniae*, is the mention of "*Gessoriaco Britannicæ gentis portu*," i.e. Gessoriacum, the port for passage to Britain, as it would appear most obviously to mean; Bertram, however, in his comment labours to prove the Britons were settled in, and occupied some parts of Gallia Belgica, quoting the passage iv, 17 of Pliny, "*A Scaldi incolunt extra Toxandri pluribus nominibus. Deinde Menapii*,"

Morini, Oromansaci, juncti pago qui Gessoriacus vocatur *Britanni*, Ambiani, Bellovaci, Hassi." Cluverius, in his *Germania Antiqua*, ii, 27, appears to agree that all the manuscripts have *Britanni*; but suggests that it should probably be *Brianni*, though there is no mention of that name in history, and that they formed part of the *Attrebates*. This is a doubtful point. Cannegieter, in his *Dissertatio de Brittenburgo*, 4to, Hague, 1734, maintains that a colony of the Britons was settled here, pp. 47, 60. Supposing the work *De Situ Britanniae* to be a forgery, it might be surmised that Bertram had seen Cannegieter's volume, who argues somewhat at length, and with much earnestness on the subject, and that it had suggested both the passage in the text of the *De Situ* and Bertram's note; but, as far as this latter is concerned, he had apparently a different source of information than Cannegieter's Dissertation. If, then, he had read this author, he must have very completely disguised this circumstance, as it might be thought, from a comparison of the passages, that he had not. Nor indeed is there appearance that he has used any of the multifarious materials in the *Dissertatio de Brittenburgo*, various of which must have been much to his purpose.

Our author speaks of three Caledonian woods in Britain, asserting that "*Calyddon*," was a usual denomination for extensive tracts of forest land in this country; and he is generally considered correct in his views on the subject. His first or southernmost Caledonian wood is the *Sylva Anderida*, which he seems right in supposing was referred to in the line of Lucan,—

"*Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.*"—vi, 68.

It being mentioned, in conjunction with *Rutupina littora* in the preceding line, and the poet mentioning that the waves were a deceitful protection to the Caledonian Britons, is a direct allusion that the invading Roman army under Aulus Plautius landed at Southampton in this part of Britain, where was this said *Sylva Anderida*, or Southern Caledonian wood. The same seems to be the one intended in Valerius Flaccus, i, 8.

" . . . Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit  
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos,"

where the Caledonian ocean, mentioned by the poet, which

bears up *Vespasian's* ships, to whom the verses are addressed, is the sea of the southern coast of Britain where was situated the Caledonian wood, and which was the scene of the landing of the Romans in this their successful expedition. In places, this forest extended to the very shores of the sea; in other parts strips of down, a few miles broad, intervened; yet the vicinity of this forest extending anciently 120 miles along the south-eastern coast, or a few miles from it, may easily be understood to have given the name of "*Oceanus Caledonius*" to the adjoining sea, and thus these two passages of *Lucan* and *Valerius Flaccus* are consistently and correctly explained.

Again, this sea is mentioned by *Ausonius* in the fourth century, in his ninth epistle, in conjunction with those of *Armorica* and *Poitou*—

"Sunt et *Aremorici* qui laudent *ostrea ponti*  
Et quæ *Pictonici* legit *accola littoris*, et quæ  
*Mira Caledonius* nonnunquam detegit *æstus*."

The midland Caledonian wood seems to have been in *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, and *Leicestershire*. Of this there appears to be mention in *Pliny*, who says, that in his time the Roman arms had not extended beyond it; which might be the case, as *Petilius Cerealis* did not conquer the *Brigantes* till A.D. 71, before which time he may have written the passage in question. This is also the Caledonian wood supposed to be mentioned by *Florus*, who, in his account of *Cæsar's* second expedition, says that he drove the Britons into the Caledonian woods,—"*Caledonias secutus in Sylvas*." This might apply to the *Iceni* who, beaten out of the field and retiring home in the vicinity of these forests, might be said to have retreated to them. However, this passage of *Florus* is equally applicable to the *Sylva Anderida*, the southern Caledonian wood, to which it is often referred.

As to the third Caledonian wood, it is to be understood of Scotland or Caledonia itself, originally so named for its forests and thickets. *Martial*, writing at the end of the first century, after the conquest of *Agricola*, when he speaks of the Caledonian bear—

"Nuda Caledonio qui pectora præbuit urso,"

probably alludes to the bear of this district. *Ptolemy*, in speaking of the third Caledonian wood seems to confine it to the very north of Scotland, *i.e.* beyond *Murray Frith*; for he

says, “Ἐπὲρ αὐτοῦς (Καληδονίους) ὁ Καληδόνιος δρυμός.” Literally beyond the Caledonians is the Caledonian wood; but he must mean in their district, as they are placed at the northern extremity themselves.

Another Caledonian wood, mentioned by Nennius, is not certainly known. He describes Arthur's seventh battle as having been in the wood Celidon, which the Britons call Cat coit Celidon.\* This by some is considered the Caledonian wood of the Coritani; but Mr. Gunn, the editor of *Nennius*, thinks it is Englewood Forest, which of late years extended sixteen miles in length, between Carlisle and Penrith.\* On the whole, this is most probable, as suiting best in position with the 2nd, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 8th battles of Arthur, with which it is mentioned. Admitting the fact that Calyddon was a usual name for forests among the ancient Britons, the adjunct with which this forest in the present case is mentioned, “cat coit,” or “cad coit Celidon,” seems to imply that it was not one of the three greater Caledonian forests, but some other of minor importance.

We have thus commented rather particularly on this topic; as whether the work *De Situ Britannia* be a forgery or not, the existence of the three great forest tracts in the island appears to be a reality.

The expedition of Divitiacus to Britain is mentioned by Richard of Cirencester, but with no additional circumstances, or indeed informing us what state or states in Britain he held. We can only remark on this head, that he is usually supposed to have held his sway over the Belgic Gauls of South Britain, whom we may thus enumerate: the Belgæ Proper, retaining from some cause their generic name, the Attrebates, Segontiaci, Durotriges, Cantii and Regni, which last are called the Rhemi in the work of our author.

We may now revert to the circumstances connected with the first appearance of this work, which we have deferred hitherto, and may proceed to a brief detail of them.

Dr. Stukeley, it seems, was in a joint correspondence with Professor Bertram and a Mr. Gramm, the latter being the King of Denmark's chief librarian and one of his privy councillors, and a friend and patron of Bertram's. This was in

\* That is, the “Cat-wood Calyddon;” “cath,” in Cornish, being a cat. Probably receiving its name from the mountain cats abounding in this district in former times. The marten cat is still found there.

the year 1747; and at this period the latter in one of his letters mentioned the existence of this manuscript, which was then stated to be in the hands of a friend. Stukeley wished to buy it for the British Museum; and being unable to induce Bertram to part with it, who had now become the possessor, he procured him to forward by letters a transcript of the whole, including the map and a fac-simile of a few lines. (See Stukeley's *Account of Richard of Cirencester*, 4to, 1757, p. 13). Bertram ever declined giving a clear and succinct account of the provenance of this manuscript before he possessed it, alleging for a reason that it had been purloined from a public library in England by an Englishman who had been wild in his youth. (See Britton's *Memoirs of Hatcher*, 8vo, 1847, p. 9.) This, it would appear, was his reason that he would neither send it, nor sell it to Stukeley. Here is at once a statement to cause the highest distrust: possible certainly, but too like the pretences of common impostors. However, we are so situated, at this distance of time, that we are wholly unable to rectify the matter. The assertion puts us at fault; and so does the circumstance that this material feature was passed over at the time by men of the highest talent and judgment; by eminent antiquaries used to investigation, and by some of this sort who were rather at variance with Stukeley, and inclined to cry down all he brought forward. If the inquiry, as to the truth of the statement, was neglected then, it of course cannot now be expected to be practicable. Two or three remarks, however, may be ventured on the subject.

No vestiges, it is believed, can be found in any of the manuscript catalogues of the last century of the work *De Situ*, in public or private libraries—at least none appear to be mentioned. In the grandest work of the kind ever published—in Bernard's catalogue of the manuscripts of England and Ireland, which contains so many thousands of manuscripts of every description, there certainly is no trace of the one attributed to Richard of Cirencester. There, however, is another hypothesis; it having been suggested by a high authority in manuscript literature that it might have been purloined from the Cottonian Library at the time of the fire of 1732, when there is reason to suppose many works were abstracted from the collection.

If Bertram had been an unfaithful editor of the manuscript

which came into his possession; altering a geographical or historical fact in one place, to accommodate the tone of the work to that of the productions of received classical authors, introducing embellishments of style in another, and so forth, he might have become so implicated in this way as to have been deterred from producing his original. In that case he would have been somewhat in the same position as Macpherson with his poems of Ossian. Mr. Macpherson, it seems, after deliberating several years could not make up his mind to publish the original fragments, which formed the basis of those poems, because, in the first instance, he had given them forth in an improved form, with alterations *ad libitum*. (See Mr. Davies's *Essay on the Poems of Ossian*, 8vo, 1824.)

Mr. Wex, in his attack on Richard of Cirencester's work, calls Bertram an Englishman. Therefore the inference from Mr. Wex would be that it was an Englishman inventing something about England. However, though signing himself, in his dedication of his work, published at Copenhagen, "Londinensis," it does not appear that he was more connected with the country than being a foreigner born at London, as Stukeley, in his *Account of Richard*, p. 12, expressly calls him a foreigner. It is true the word "*patriæ*" occurs in the dedication of his map, which is expressed in the following words:—"Tabulam hanc geographicam antiquitatis patriæ cimelium celeberrimo viro Gulielmo Stukeley, M.D., etc, observantiæ testandæ, ergo dedicavit Carolus Bertramus, 1755;" but here the word evidently applies to Stukeley. If, therefore, not an English subject, he could not have forged the work from any morbid motive of doing credit to or illustrating his own country. If he did forge it, his motive could only have been the vain-glorious one of bringing himself into notice as the author of a literary discovery.

We may now pass in review some few other particulars relating to Bertram which, joined to the foregoing, seem to comprise nearly all that is known respecting him. He was born, we find, in the year 1723, and went to reside in Denmark, in 1738, being then fifteen years of age, and in course of time became professor of the English language at the Royal Naval School at Copenhagen. Between the years 1749 and 1753 he published papers on the subject of English Grammar and, as we are informed in his preface to the *De Situ*, he also edited the work of John Dauw, printed at Copenhagen and



Leipsic, which work, according to his mention of it, appears to have been relative to the Fine Arts. He died 8th January, 1765. It was not long after this that we are informed by Gough, or some other writer of the last century, that it having been intended to edit a new edition of Richard's work in this country, and inquiries being made in Copenhagen, in consequence, for the original map, in order to re-engrave it, Bertram was ascertained to be dead, an event it seems unknown to the intended editor, and the map was no where to be found. In consequence of which the re-print intended at that time was given up.

It may be noted, that on collating the copy of the *Itineraries*, as printed by Stukeley in 1757, from transcripts forwarded by Bertram, with Bertram's own edition, reprinted by Hatcher, 8vo, 1809, variations of distances are found in the following Iters, viz. :—In Iters v, vii, viii, (three); x, (three); xi, (two); and xvii, (one); and in Iter iii, the addition in Stukeley of the name "Icianis;" as also in Iter xiv, of the name "Præsidium." These variations, except the last, are noticed by Mr. Hatcher.

If a forgery, the *De Situ Britanniae* may be regarded a compilation from the works of Camden, Horsley, Gale, Baxter, the *Itinerarium Curiosum* of Stukeley, and similar publications, together with a free use of ancient sources of information, such as are supplied by Ptolemy, Ravennas, and others. The motive could only have been vanity, or insanity, or both combined. That he possessed a considerable share of antiquarian and topographical learning is very evident from his commentary on Richard's two first chapters, where a very extensive list of authors is quoted, with whose writings, respecting Britain, he seems well versed. Nor was this antiquarian knowledge acquired subsequent to his possession of Richard's work to illustrate his author, as seems evidenced by his prior wish to communicate with Stukeley.

We may further note, in addition, a somewhat singular circumstance mentioned by Stukeley in his *Account*, p. 13, that he first communicated with him respecting the work as the production of Richard of Westminster; and Stukeley tells us it was only by his researches that he ascertained it belonged to Richard of Cirencester :—an argument apparently favourable.

The following extracts from Stukeley's *Journal*, as given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for August, 1835, p. 149, show

the misapprehensions as to the author, which he at first entertained.

"March 1st, 1748-9.—I received from my friend, Mr. Bertram, of Copenhagen, a copy of his curious manuscript of *Ricardus Westmonasteriensis* with the map. It is a most valuable curiosity to (*i.e.* in illustration of) the antiquities of Britain, being compiled out of old manuscripts in Westminster library, now lost."

"June 15th, 1749. — The Royal Society adjourned to Thursday, the 26th of October next. I asked to borrow the manuscript out of the Arundel Library, and gave bond accordingly; but find it not of Richard of Westminster, though the beginning of it is the same in words, 'Britannia insularum optima,' and said to continue to King Edward the Third. It contains several authors and is a curious book."

Thus some of the particulars relating to the work *De Situ Britanniae* are somewhat singular; and to conclude this topic the following letter from Professor Worsaae, of Copenhagen may be inserted in answer to inquiries made by the author respecting Bertram.

"141, Amaliëgade, Copenhagen, March 26th, 1849.—My dear sir, I beg (you) to excuse that I have not answered your letter of September the 24th last before; but Werlauff, from whom I was to get the information required is a very old man, who, besides, has a great deal to do. At last I have got it. If it also only gives little new to you, here it is in my translation:—

"C. J. Bertram was, according to Worm, in his *Lexicon of Danish Authors*, born 1723. In the year 1747 he gave in a petition to the Consistorium, at the university of Copenhagen, to be made a student, which he, as belonging to the Anglican church, strictly could not be. He professed to study History, Antiquities, Philosophy, and Mathematics. In 1748 he petitioned the king to be permitted to give public lectures on the English language. He had at that time been here for ten years. and was indirectly called into this country by Christian VI. He died January 8th, 1765.

"In the years 1749-1753 he published some papers upon the English Grammar. In the last published 'Gründig Anvüsing lil det Engelske sprogs kundskab,' (Guide to a perfect knowledge of the English language), some very favourable opinions, as to (his) literary career and the work in question,

have been printed, from the Professors Holberg, Möllmann, and I. T. Anchersen.

“No manuscript of his ‘Scriptores’ exists at the Royal Library. No will of his as to his manuscripts is known either. But at the Royal Library there exists a fragment of an English manuscript containing critical notes and observations to the *History of Canute the Great*, in which references are made to English and Icelandic chronicles. The fragment has, as the writing shows, evidently been written from another manuscript, as the transcriber did not know the language; but in the catalogue it is supposed that Mr. Bertram was the author.

“The historian, Suhm, mentions the edition of *Ricardus Corinensis*, by Mr. Bertram, among the authorities from which he has got information to his book, *Om de Nordiske Folks ældste Oprindelse*, 1770. (On the origin of the people of the North.) But of greater consequence perhaps it is, that Lappenberg, in his *Geschichte Englands*, i, s. 16, 41, 57, considers *Ricardus Corinensis* genuine.

“I am sorry that this is all, and that you have been waiting so long a time for nearly nothing. Werlauff begged me to remember him to you.

“If I in any other way can be of any service to you I shall be very happy.

“With my best wishes, believe me, my dear sir, very sincerely yours, J. J. A. Worsaae.”

The inference from this letter is, that the work *De Situ Britannie*, whether true or false, escaped suspicion in Denmark, Bertram’s domicile, even more completely than it did in England.—To continue with writers on the subject of ancient British Geography, we will now advert to one who is somewhat important to our subject.

Of the work of William Baxter—his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, an account has been promised at a preceding page: indeed any detailed observations on ancient British Geography would be highly imperfect without some notice of it. This work is in the nature of a Dictionary of the names of places and persons, in ancient British times, and is written in Latin; and went through two editions in 8vo, in 1719 and 1733. The author was a native of Llanlunan in Shropshire, master of the Mercers’ School in London, and nephew of the famous Richard Baxter; he died 1723, aged 73; his second edition having been published posthumously.

Being, as should seem from the name of the place, born in a part of Shropshire, which had been an integral portion of Wales till the re-division of the county in the reign of Henry VIII, he was a quasi-Cambrian, and shows himself well versed in the Welch language. Camden and Lhuyd had before touched on the same subject as Baxter; but his work was obviously suggested by the learned work of Thomas Gale on the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, published in 1709.

The scope taken by Baxter is a critical etymological and antiquarian examination of local names in Ptolemy, Antoninus, the *Notitia Imperii*, and Ravennas; he, unfortunately for the most part, omits the British names of towns in Nennius, and the personal and local names in the British Chronicles, and the few that occur in Gildas. The reader will easily perceive that his work is no less than a succinct dissertation on the four first-mentioned works; which indeed it is, and comprises a very able commentary upon them: in fact the only efficient one on Ptolemy and Ravennas, except the dissertation on those two writers in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*.

In speaking of the character of this work we may very safely say it ranks very high both in England and on the Continent. It is probable that this learned work not only assisted but excited Horsley to compile his *Britannia Romana*; and it has certainly been referred to in every antiquarian work of importance since its time. But being the first, as it indeed is at present the only work of its class, there is no doubt there are very considerable errors in it. The nature of the work required that its writer, as well as learned, should be imaginative, inventive, and of a conjectural turn of mind; hence a door for the introduction of numerous errors, and that the author of such a work should be as often wrong as right is no imputation; we are benefited in those instances in which he succeeds in affording us due guidance; where he does not we are not worse off than we were before. It is therefore not in disparagement of his publication, but rather to make it more useful that we may point out the sources of error, and the incorrect modes of deduction in it.

I. In investigating names of places he is perhaps too rash in altering the text of his authors, particularly Ravennas, which last author, since the discovery of the inscription on the ancient drinking vessel at Rudge (see page 106), most writers will be inclined to treat with more circumspection than Baxter

has observed. For example, Corsula, in Ravennas, considered to be the Isle of Holyhead, he affirms to be misnomered for Corguba, to which he adjusts his explanation and derivation—an assumption highly arbitrary and improbable, as we shall see.

His error is, that he does not bear in mind how often the early British saints have supplied names to localities; churches having been, in the first instance, dedicated to them, from which a village rising up around has been named. Thus in the foregoing case, there being in the said island of Holyhead an ancient camp called *Caer Gybi*, from this circumstance he is inclined to substitute, and wholly unauthorised, instead of Corsula, the reading Corguba; which word he assumes implies in the Gaelic "*castrum cohortis*," the fort of the cohort. However, as there is an ancient Welch church, which stands within the camp, dedicated to Saint Kebius, a Welch saint of the fifth century, as is shewn by two ancient inscriptions on the stones of the walls of the church, nothing further is required to shew his mistake, and to expose his wrong method in this particular. (See the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1789, on this point, where are some observations by Mr. Lewis Morris on Welch derivations.)

II. He seems scarcely sufficiently cautious in assigning words, or applying significations of words in the ancient British language, as based on the modern Celtic. We must here censure with diffidence, as the exercise of this power with due discretion was, without doubt, part of his task. Thus in assuming that the words "*venta*," "*uent*" and "*uend*" in composition, are the same as "*pen*," all alike implying head, or chief, he is sufficiently borne out by authorities: but when he asserts that "*kent*" or "*kend*" is also merely another variation of the same word he entirely fails. Again in his derivation of Derventio, the river, the correct form as he supposes of the Dorvatum of Ravennas, he affirms that it comes from the ancient British word "*deruent*" in modern Welch, "*diruyn*" to wind round. Mr. Morris, in his letter above quoted, however, shows that in Gale's edition of Nennius, the word appears in the form of "*Derevent*" and "*Deragwent*;" and in various manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Tysilio, it is found witten "*Derwand*," "*Deriment*," "*Deriwent*," and "*Denvinnydd*." Baxter should have been more circumspect in a word of such manifold occurrence, and should have used all

available means of ascertaining ; it being found in Nennius and the Chronicles, as well as in Ravennas and Antoninus, though in the latter not as a river but as a station. Stevenson, in his edition of Nennius, further gives "Derguentid," "Deruent," "Derguint," "Derguent," where the form "Deruent" itself appears seemingly a vernacular contraction, and not when compared with the other forms necessarily corroborating Baxter. Certainly, from the great variety these afford, and a reference to Ravennas's Dorvatum, there might appear sufficient scope for deducing the derivation of this name without the manufacture of a word for the purpose which might never have existed.

III. The above errors of Baxter are nevertheless perhaps trifling to his derivations from blended words of the ancient British and Saxon tongues, forming therefrom one name. Certainly an ancient British local name may have been adopted by the Saxons, and may have been accompanied by an adjunct, expressing whether it were an island, town, mountain or the like, but otherwise the forming the name of a place from the conjoint use of words of the two languages is very improbable, and the proposing such a method is discreditable to etymology. Nevertheless Baxter often resorts to this mixture, and has a familiar term for it, "hybrida compositio," that is an hybrid or mongrel compound. However, a reference to the principal passages themselves of this nature may be useful, to shew how far he transgresses approved rules. The instances may be found under the words, Antivestrium (Antivestæum), Arviragus, Branavis, Cantuivetrus, Cassii, Corinavii, Croucindum (Croucingum), Curia-Otodinorum, Dunblissis (Duablis), Lenda, Manapia, Mantovium (Matovion), Menna, Nathanleod, Pontes, Portus Madurni, Salenæ, Segedunum, Tidertis, Tripontium, Varis, Vellabori, Vercenia, Verdotalia (Zerdotalia), Veroconium, and perhaps others ; but these may suffice.

IV. Baxter's suggestion relating to the Cangi, a British tribe mentioned by Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 32, is curious, and he makes a very frequent use of the hypothesis which he deduces. His opinion is thus derived. The early Romans had summer pastimes, among the Calabri and Lucani. Justin, the historian, viii, 5, notes these summer and winter feedings. And Livy, xxii, 14, appears to make an allusion to it, "Nos hic pecorum modo per æstivos saltus, deviosque calles exercitum ducimus ;" *i.e.* we lead about our army like cattle

in the summer, through woods for pasturage, and through devious paths. It is said, as doubtless was the case, that the shepherds on these occasions were frequently accustomed to occupy, with their flocks and herds, deserted ancient camps on the hills, when such presented themselves. To this circumstance the allusion may possibly be in Virgil, *Georgics* iii, 474 :

“ . . . . . Aerias Alpes, et Norica si quis  
castella in tumulis . . . videat.”

It is added, that from their frequent occupation of such places, their ordinary inclosures made in their summer wanderings, were often called castra.

He seems to have supposed, from authorities which may be found on this point, that each British state had its summer pasturage tracts occupied by the outlying population of the tribe, and distinct from its own proper territories. He interprets the word “ceang” as branch, to favour this view : and, according to him, almost every British state had its Cangi, by which he boldly filled up every geographical blank in the island that presented itself to notice. Besides these outliers to various states, he also thought that there were other districts occupied by the direct dependents of powerful neighbouring tribes. His ideas on both the foregoing heads lead us to consider his various territorial divisions of ancient Britain.

V. His system, as to the denomination and territories of the ancient British Princes, it is believed greatly differs from any opinions which would now readily find supporters ; but as professing to be based on ancient authorities, and ostensibly reconciling the British Chronicles with authentic history more than any other, it is required to advert to it.

He supposes ancient Britain divided into four parts :— (1) Britain south of the Thames and Severn, with the territories of the Cassii, and Trinobantes north of the Thames, which he reposes formed the Britannia Prima of the Romans ; (2) the remaining part between the Thames and Humber, which constituted the Britannia Secunda of the Romans ; (3) the country of the Brigantes ; and (4) lastly, Caledonia. He thought that the Belgic Gauls had fully mastered Britannia Prima, by their several invasions, and that they had at one time become partially possessed of Britannia Secunda, but that the inhabitants uniting, drove them out, and confined them to their first-named limits, pp. 51, 136. In consequence, he thought that the Britons, in that part of the island which afterwards

composed *Britannia Secunda*, became formed into a powerful kingdom, at the head of which were the Iceni, under three denominations :—The Iceni Majores, or Iceni of Lincolnshire, p. 88 ; the Iceni Minores ; the Iceni Corigauni, Coriceni, or Corii, whose territory was Leicestershire, p. 88 ; and another division of Iceni Minores, the Icenimagni of Norfolk and Suffolk, p. 137, divided into two minor tribes, the northern and southern Icenimagni, p. 138. The Cornavii or Carnabii, Dobuni, Ordovices and Silures, in his opinion, constituted the residue of this kingdom : which he thought was collectively the Genounia of Pausanias, the Gunetha of the Chester Inscription, the country of the Jugantes of Tacitus, the country of the Huiccii of Bede : he himself thinking that the Uigantes was their proper appellation, quoting indeed in support of this a strong corroboration from Nennius, of Norwich having been formerly called *Caer Guentwic*. He thought the Saxons, on their conquest, possessed themselves of the easternmost portions of it, out of which they formed the kingdoms of Mercia and East Anglia, leaving the westernmost part of it to the Welch, being the same as was called *Venedotia*, in the Middle ages, and, in modern times, *Guineddh*. In fact, North Wales and the country of the Cornavii, or Chester and Shropshire. As to South Wales, he thought that the Silures, together with the inhabitants of Herefordshire, were the Attacotti, whose name appears in conjunction with the Picts, Scots, and Saxons, as antagonists against the Romans in the latter times of their domination. These are mentioned by St. Jerome as a British tribe, and are generally assigned to Scotland, though actually their location in this country is not known.\* He thought that Constantine the Great, when he remodelled the British provinces, formed the district occupied by these people into a separate province, to keep them in better subjection, named *Flavia Caesariensis*, after his family. The province of *Britannia Secunda* afterwards would of course consist of as much of the former one of this name as was left. It however militates against these suppositions that the Attacotti are not mentioned in history till after the reign of Constantine.

\* The passage in St. Jerome *Against Jovian*, book ii, asserts, that the Attacotti were a British nation, and that they fed on human flesh. Pancirolus, on the contrary, in his notes to the *Nolitia Imperii*, fol., Geneva, 1623, vol. ii, p. 41, considers them a people of Germany. It is remarkable that the apparent etymology of the name bears out either hypothesis : Attacotti or Uchacotti, i.e. Upper Scots or Goths.



Having thus laid out the principal states of ancient Britain, and connecting his system with historical events, he considers Cassivelaunus, as indeed most others do, to have been king of the Cassii, p. 71. Cunobeline he regards king of the Iceni, and reputes, that, having strengthened his power by an alliance in marriage with Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, he became Pendragon, pp. 25, 94, 137, with Camulodunum, for his capital, which he thought at that time belonged to the Iceni, though, at the time when Ptolemy wrote, it is ascribed to the Trinobantes, p. 64. He thought Caractacus succeeded to him, as Pendragon, who had become king of the Silures, p. 67; and he advances a very common opinion that Togodumnus, one of the other sons of Cunobeline was appointed prince of the Dobuni, pp. 106, 137, 229, from which, he thought, virtually originated the Duchy of Gloucester, pp. 94, 137. Regarding this it is very certain that modern discoveries of coins very fully show the connexion of this leader with the Dobuni. However to continue. The successor of Caractacus as Pendragon, he thought, was Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, and of the confederate states, and husband of the renowned Boadicea, pp. 39, 135.

With respect to these his opinions, they had formerly a certain degree of currency; and even Horsley has, in some respects, nearly a similar tinge. For speaking of the state of Britain, at the time of Cæsar's second invasion, p. 16, he expresses his supposition, that the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci and Cassii were then in subjection to Cassivelaunus. However, it is evident that Baxter's ideas relating to the Iceni and their territories, though in great part correct, and affording the valuable suggestion to which we have paid attention in our First Book, yet will not warrant the other various conclusions which he is inclined to form. For that Cunobeline was not their king appears from Tacitus, who, after the conquest of Cunobeline's dominions, speaking of the Iceni, styles them, "*valida, gens nec proeliis contusi, quia societatem nostram volentes accesserunt.*"—*Annals*, xii, 31. Again his ideas require the Dobuni to have been in subjection to the Iceni, which he asserts; whereas we have the distinct evidence of Dion Cassius, that they were dependents of the Catieuchlani, or Cassii. Further, Baxter is only able to maintain his opinion by the improbable notion, and the gratuitous supposition that

Camulodunum, the capital of the Trinobantes, in the time of Ptolemy, was a principal town of the Iceni in the preceding century; refutation, therefore, may be spared. In short his ideas seem to have been very indefinite respecting the capitals of the Iceni; he supposing Lindum was the ancient and original capital, pp. 137, 153; afterwards Camulodunum, in the reign of Cunobeline; subsequent to this Crocolana, pp. 137, 239, and again Bennonæ, or High Cross, pp. 39, 137, and Ratæ or Leicester, in the time of Prasutagus, p. 137.

That the "Civitas Jugantum" of Tacitus, to which belonged Venusius, husband of Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, as mentioned by that author, *Annals*, xii, 40, was one of the territorial divisions of the Iceni there appears no reason to doubt; and, causes may be assigned from the nature of parts of the country, why the name, from its obvious derivation, might have been applicable; which we may now slightly advert to.

In parts of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire there must have been inland expanses of water, lakes, lagoons, and estuaries, of very considerable extent. About half of this would have been within the limits assigned to the Iceni Coritani; and there seems to be no obstacle that these people may not have acquired the name of Uigantes, from the lakes among which they dwelt,—it being well known that the term for water among the ancient Britons was "uisge" or some variation of the word.

Baxter seems to have had no correct idea of the three invasions of the Belgæ or Firbolgi of Britain, which may be considered to be respectively assignable to about the years 350, 100, and 85, before the Christian æra. Of these he only mentions the last; and whatever may have been his idea of the origin of the races of the interior of our island, it is evident he had not that correct knowledge, which, in later times, there has been the opportunity of collecting from the Triads, Tysilio's Chronicle, and Irish sources. The reader will find this topic of the Belgic population of ancient Britain treated of, in as much detail as the subject admits, in several of the concluding parts of the *Coins of Cunobeline, and of the ancient Britons*; as also in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for March, 1852. The discussion, indeed, so much connected with ancient British coins becomes in great part of a numismatical nature.

Briefly, however, we may allude to the results. The first invasion or colony seems to be that assigned by the Triads and Nennius to Hu Gadarn or Hysichion, when we may consider the region north of the Thames, afterwards part of Cunobeline's territories, was brought under subjection to the foreign inroad. The second was that of the Coranians, mentioned by the Triads and Tysilio, when the country north of the foregoing occupants and south of the Humber, was acquired. The third was of course that of Divitiacus, when the Belgæ appear to have obtained that part of Britain south of the Thames and west of the Dumnonii.

But Baxter supposes the ramifications and divisions of the British kingdoms to have been multifarious. We may now proceed to some notice of them.

To begin with the Iceni. These, we have seen, he regarded primarily as divided into the Iceni Lindenses, the Iceni Corigauni or Coritani, and the Icenimagni : we have before noticed the various districts respectively which, according to him, they held. Their outliers or pastoral population he considered assignable thus.—To the Iceni Lindenses, the inhabitants of the districts now occupied by Derbyshire and Northamptonshire ; to the Iceni Coritani or Corigauni, the Dobuni ; and to the Icenimagni, the Girvii, or inhabitants of Cambridgeshire : the latter in the condition of “vernæ” or bond-servants. The outliers or vernæ of the Cassii, he thought were the southern Girvii, or inhabitants of Huntingdonshire, quoting Gibson, who, in his edition of Camden, shows that they were in a servile condition as late as the reign of Henry the Third ; and at one period the Dobuni, who, he thought, in ordinary circumstances, were in subjection to the Iceni. To the Cornavii or Carnabii, he thought the Cangani of North Wales were subject, or the inhabitants of the district near the Canganum promontory, whose existence however, as distinct from the Ordovices, or even whether there were such a people, is somewhat doubtful ; also the inhabitants of Somersetshire. These two last dependent tribes, as also those of Derbyshire and Northamptonshire, he designated “Cangi,” for his use of which term see before. There are indeed traces by inscriptions on pigs of lead, and otherwise, of the tribe so named in those several localities, whence it follows that antiquarian writers variously place them. He supposes the term to be generic ; and thought that many more such dependents existed to various

British states than are mentioned in history. Thus he thought the Ottadeni were the Cangi of the Brigantes, separated by the Roman wall; indeed he almost thought the whole of Caledonia had been of this description. The Demetæ, he thought, were the Cangi to the Silures, it being known in history that Pembrokeshire was in a deserted state in the reign of Henry the First; and there being few Roman remains in Brecknockshire and Radnorshire, which were, according to him, a part of the district of the Demetæ; whilst the Corinavii or Carnabii of Cornwall, he thought, were vernæ or bondsmen to the Dumnonii, as we have before seen. The Trinobantes, he thought, held in subjection the present district of Surrey, as also Essex, or Guepponia as he calls it; and were themselves in subjection, he considered, to the Cassii. He seems to have entertained the opinion that ancient states were accustomed to lay the country waste round their boundaries, quoting Cæsar, that ancient Germans were in the habit so too; and finds traces of this in Britain.—P. 52.

As to these ideas of Baxter, as to outlying and dependent tribes, they appear to be true to the condition of ancient nations, though he appears to have defined them, in the case of Britain, with more precision than he is perhaps justified, after the loss of the Description of Ammianus Marcellinus of the island, and similar works. He seems, in most cases, correctly to have fixed the nuclei of the principal British tribes: though erring in the supposed supremacy of the Iceni, and as to the principal seat of the Trinobantes. On the whole, he makes the leading features of ancient British geography more familiar to the reader than any other writer.

To recapitulate concerning Baxter's performance in a few words:—Some of his derivations are exceedingly good, some of a very doubtful character, and others wholly to be repudiated. His sources are the Celtic languages generally, principally the Welsh, as he does not do more than occasionally fall back upon the others. It may admit of a doubt whether, if he had placed the Erse most prominent, the results might not have been frequently more satisfactory. In some respects the Erse may be a purer form of the Celtic. The Cornish also, as a dialect of the Celtic, has considerable claims to our attention.

Having now taken a survey of what is known respecting the Geography of Ancient Britain, a remark or two may be

added regarding those particulars in which we are still deficient. These, it must be confessed, are not few. The researches of Camden, Horsley, Stukeley, and other great antiquaries, still leave us uninformed on many points. Of the 115 stations of Antoninus and of the towns in Ptolemy's map, it is doubtful if more than half are ascertained correctly, while of the 200 British towns, cities and stations in Ravennas, apparently not more than a fifth or sixth can be indubitably assigned. Not more than half the rivers can we identify; and what, after all, seem best known are the provincial divisions. The uncertainty that attends many points which might be expected to be best known is striking; for, of the four great national highways mentioned in the laws of William the Conqueror, the "quatuor chimini," of which we have before treated at our page 95, one at least is certainly not known with correctness; as we find two Ermyrn Streets are assigned: and a northern prolongation of the Watling Street seems also doubtful. In Sussex and Surrey, evidently rich in Roman roads, we have, singularly, none given in Antoninus. In investigating Roman roads and stations, it is clear that the labours of the surveyor have not been sufficiently added to those of the antiquary. It should seem that Roman stations are frequently assigned, from the mere circumstance of ruins of villas or antiquities being found. Many vestiges of Roman roads, hitherto overlooked, undoubtedly remain in various parts of the kingdom, some of them itinerary roads, others not so; but in either case they should be surveyed, and their stations noted down. Till this is either done by some society with extensive means, or by the government, our knowledge of Roman roads in this country will not greatly advance. We are under a disadvantage which is not shared by our neighbours on the continent, in having lost, except a small fragment, the part of the Peutingerian map referring to this country. That ancient document would apparently have left but little to be desired, giving both a map and distances, as it did. The only way in which the loss can be repaired, would seem to be by the extensive investigations and surveys here suggested.

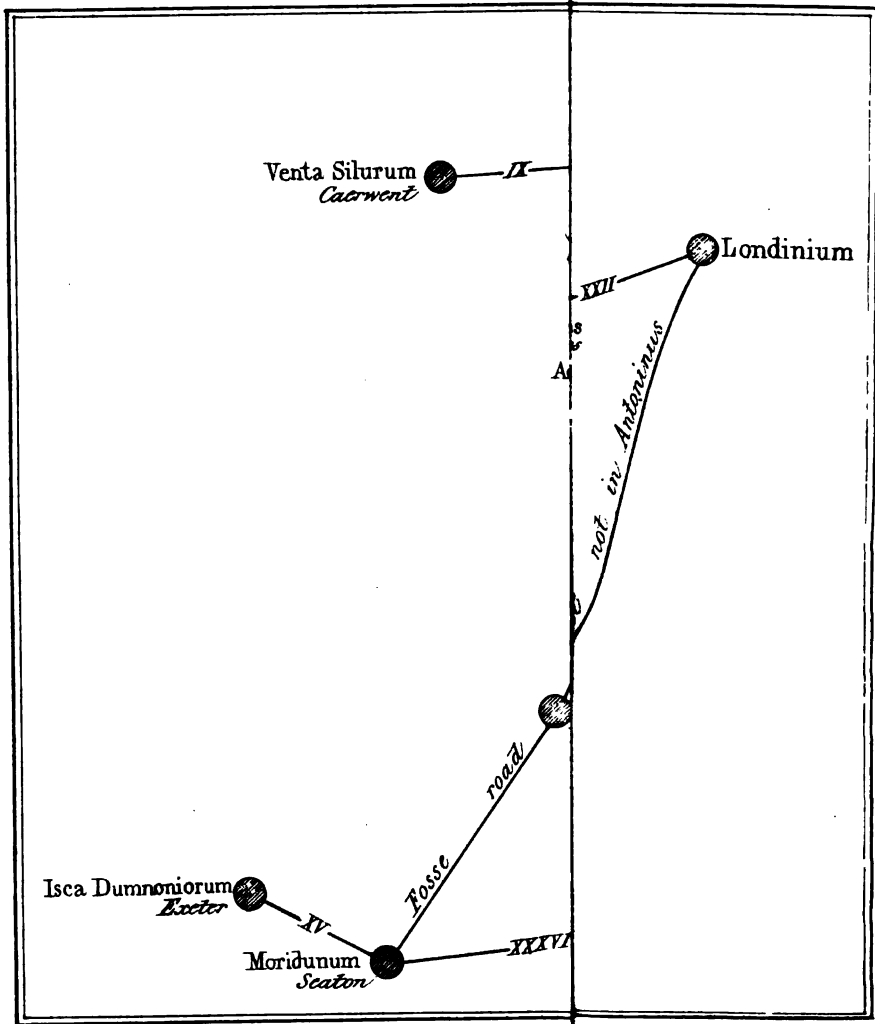
It will be a remark in corroboration of these views, that the survey of the Board of Ordnance, though made without reference to antiquarian purposes has much assisted antiquarian research for the last forty years. It would do still more so if copies of the survey, in its original scales, in some cases

two inches, in others four inches to the mile, were readily accessible. Of these government now has only the advantage.

Should our Record Commission ever be restored to its vigour and efficiency, maps of our ancient British states might be a part of its labours attended with much advantage. These should mark the ancient state of the coast, the filling up of bays, estuaries, straits and shallows, and the narrowing of rivers, as well as the abrasions of the coasts by the sea. These may seem complicated particulars to many; but it has been observed that, to further advance our knowledge of the ancient geography of the island, the labours of the surveyor must be called in, and all the resources of science added.

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# NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS OF ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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## BOOK II. BRITAIN—ITS GEOGRAPHY.

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### CHAPTER II.

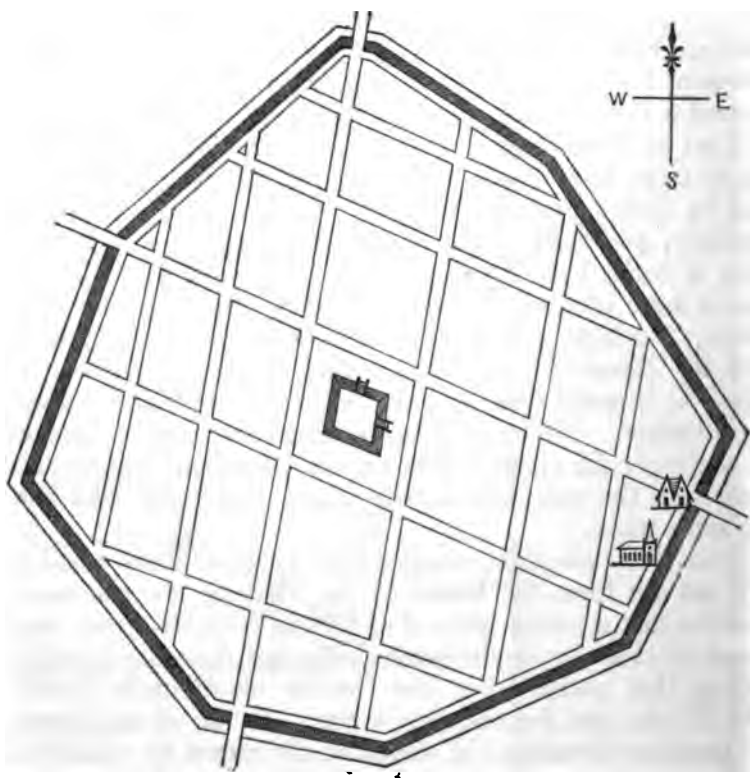
ON THE SEGONTIACI,—A PEOPLE OF BRITAIN, MENTIONED BY CÆSAR IN HIS COMMENTARIES, AND ON THE CITY OF SEGONTIUM.

THIS part of the ancient population of Britain is mentioned somewhat incidentally by Cæsar, in his fifth book of the Gaulish Wars, section 17. We are enabled to obtain some traces of them in later times, and it may be judged that they formed a British state of some importance.

That in times of antiquity, and in the middle ages, various single cities have arisen to considerable power and eminence, and by their power and influence have become possessed of territory, and have assumed a position of higher pretension than it could have been supposed they could by their own means have obtained, is well enough known; witness Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Marseilles, and others, in ancient times, and the Hanse Towns, Venice, and Genoa, in subsequent ones: so it would seem that the Segontiaci in Britain became considerable. We judge thus, because they seem no offshoot of any powerful Gaulish tribe on the Continent, and because they were the only British tribe whose State and City bore the same name.

From their situation, about forty-four miles above London, and not far from the banks of the Thames, we can easily imagine that a strong party of emigrants from Gaul may have sailed up that river under some skilful and determined leader, during that period when the Gaulish chiefs made inroads into Britain, and founded here a city. But as we can discern no peculiar advantages of situation, the means by which this city became so considerable must ever remain unknown to us; and conjecture can but suggest, that, like Rome, it could have only been by the valour and skill of the inhabitants, joined to favourable incidental circumstances.

That it was a city of this importance no further is necessary to say than, that in Roman times, it was one of the largest walled towns in Britain; and as we cannot see to what purpose the Romans should have so strongly walled this inland town, it not being their general custom so to fortify towns, except on the coast, or in particular exposed situations, and as they seem to have kept no garrison here, it is by no means improbable the walls were constructed principally at the expense of the inhabitants themselves. That otherwise there is every indication of a large and important town at this place, its present remains fully show. In figure it is a very irregular octagon, and nearly three-quarters of a mile long by



about as much broad. Its circumference, as stated by Camden, is about two Italian miles. Within the space, inclosed by the

wall, almost every species of Roman antiquity has been found, and very numerous foundations. Near the exterior, in one part, at the distance of about 175 yards from the walls, are remains of an amphitheatre, in the Castrensian style, built of sods, of which sort many have been found in Britain. To return to the interior,—among the various foundations were those of a temple to Hercules, as was proved by a Corinthian capital, and an inscription recorded in Gough's *Camden*, vol. i, p. 141, and by Mr. Becke, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xv, p. 184. The stone was inclosed in a brass frame and border; the letters appear to have been gilded, and it may be thus given, supplying the parts which are defective,—DEO. HER(CVLI) SÆGON(TIOREVM.) T. TAMMON(IVS) SÆN. TAMMON(II. F.) VITALIS. (F.) OB HONO(REM DD.)

The meaning of this inscription is sufficiently obvious, namely, that T. Tammonius, son of Sænius Tammonius, the son of Vitalis, dedicated (the temple) to the god Hercules of Segontium. The reading SÆGONTIOREVM is preferred to SÆGONTIACORVM: for though Hercules was undoubtedly the tutelary divinity of the whole state of the Segontiaci, yet the dedication was probably by Tammonius, as a person in official authority in Segontium. There is one other inscription to Hercules extant in this country, it may be observed, namely, that at Risingham in Northumberland. (See *Horsley*, lxxxi.)

It so happens that there had been previously, as far back as the time of Camden, an inscription found at Silchester, on which the name of Tammonius occurs. It is given in *Horsley*, p. 332; and, according to Camden, it was removed to Lord Burleigh's. It was afterwards stated to be deposited at Connington, and is expressed as follows:—MEMORIÆ FL(AVIE) VICTOR(I)NÆ. T. TAM VICTOR CONIVNX POSVIT.

The name of Victor is again mentioned in an inscription found at Silchester, recorded in Ward's Manuscript Additions to *Horsley's Britannia Romana*, preserved in the British Museum—IVL(IAE A)VGV(STAE MAT SE)NATVS ET CASTROR M. SABINVS VICTOR OB. - - - -

This inscription, it is sufficiently clear, is a dedication to Julia Domna, the empress of Severus, who it seems, from Gruter, p. cclxiv, 5, and p. cclxv, 2, had the title of Mater senatus et castrorum.

The historical particulars relating to this ancient British state are but few; we may, however, now proceed with them.

In the time of Cæsar the Segontiaci were independent, as they appear to be enumerated among those states which choose a common leader against the invader. But they seem within half a century, to have been conquered by Cunobeline, or his father, as, by the British coin, inscribed *SEGO. TASCIO*, engraved by Ruding and others, it is pretty plainly evidenced they were under Cunobeline's dominion.

In Roman times this place seems to have been known as Vindomum, on which we may further remark presently. In the times subsequent to the Romans, during the contests with the Saxons, the importance of the place appears to have continued. In the apocryphal History of Geoffrey of Monmouth it is mentioned three times. Book vi, 5, as the place of assembly of a large national council, when Constantine was crowned about A.D. 408. Book ix, 1, as again the place of assembly of the British aristocracy, to appoint Arthur, king, about A.D. 517: and Book ix, 15, when Manganius is described as installed bishop of the place, about A.D. 519. Another old chronicle mentions that, during the course of the wars between the Britons and Saxons, it was taken and burnt by the forces of the latter. Since this time it has never been rebuilt; but is now cultivated as arable ground; the church and rectory-house of Silchester, and the village standing at the east end of it within the walls.

After Geoffrey it is believed there is no further mention of Silchester, except in *Higden on Ancient Cities*, and in the Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, who both inform us it was called "Caer Segont." \*

There is abundant evidence that numerous cities and towns taken and burnt down in the Saxon and Danish wars have never been rebuilt. This appears to have happened in cases where no local advantage for commerce presented the prospect of burgage tenures being paid by the new burgesses to the lords, to whom the ruined sites were granted; the former inhabitants, who possessed property on the spot, having either been slain, or ruined in their circumstances. Therefore, the sites were cultivated for farming purposes; and such we conclude was the case in regard to Silchester.

\* Respecting the ancient Segontium, Ranulph Higden says, "Caer Segont, i.e. Cilcestria quæ super Thamisiū non longe a Radingo ponitur." (*De Antiquis Urbibus*, LIB. I.) Henry of Huntingdon says: "Caer Segont quæ fuit super Thamesin non longe a Reading, et vocatur Silcester."—LIB. I.

To revert to Roman times : as well as the present Segontium, of which we treat, there was also another place of the same name, near Caernarvon in Wales, mentioned in the *Itineraries* of Antoninus, which is frequently confounded with this. This Segontium was the north-western termination of the Watling Street, and, according to Nennius, was the burying-place of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine, who, however, according to other accounts, was buried at York ; and the passage in Nennius himself, as understood by the Rev. Mr. Gunn and others, is not without some contradiction and uncertainty on this point.\* This place, otherwise Segontium, is frequently called "Caer Custeint," or Constantine's city ; and the inhabitants of the surrounding district here could scarcely have been called Segontiaci. Indeed, Caer Custeint, or Segontium, was situated in the district of Wales, called Venedotia ; and as the inscription in Gough's Camden and the *Archæologia* clearly identifies Silchester with the Segontium of the Segontiaci, the Segontiaci of Cæsar could not be those of Venedotia. Had it not been for this inscription, which may be considered second in importance to none that have been found in England, excepting that of Cogidubnus at Chichester, there might not have been the means of definitely deciding the point, so as to preclude all cavil and objection.

Having now given a brief sketch of the ancient state of the city, it may serve to make the various names, which have been applied to this place, better understood. In one way or other they seem all to have had a reference to its having

\* See Mr. Gunn's edition of Nennius, pp. 15, 58, 98, 99, and 141, and Mr. Stevenson's edition of the same author, 8vo, 1838, p. 20. Gunn mentions an ancient inscription in the Castle of Caer Segeint, in Arvon, from the life of Gruffydd ap Cynan in the Myvyrian Archæology, in proof that it was the city of the Emperor Constantius. He thinks the Caer Segeint, mentioned by Nennius, if the text be not corrupted, is the Caer Segeint in Arvon ; and is of opinion, that this city having been the royal residence of the Princes of North Wales, the burying place of some subsequent member of the family may have been mistaken for that of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine, or of Flavius Valerius Constantius, the son of Constantine. Eutropius tells us plainly that Constantius Chlorus died at York, x, 1. And Mr. Gunn, in disproving an early connection of the Constantine family with Caer Segeint, in Arvon, further informs us that the chapel founded there by Helena was not by the mother of Constantine the Great, but by the person of that name,—daughter of Euda, Duke of Cornwall, and wife to the usurper Maximus, otherwise known as Maxen Wledig.

been a capital of a British state; or to its having been a town of importance. Beginning with the name it now bears, Silchester, this is implied to signify the large city; "sel" signifying in Saxon, good or excellent; and, idiomatically, as applied to names of places, large. The meaning of the adjunct, chester, is too familiar to need explanation. Its other name, *Caer Segont*, appears to mean "The city of the *Segontiaci*," and to have been taken from the name of the British state, of which it was the metropolis. Its third name, as well as it should seem a further colloquial variation of it, will require also to be touched upon.

The first of these two last, the appellation *Vindomum*, occurs in *Iters* xii and xv of Antoninus in the form of *Vindomi*; the word "oppido" being understood, as in the case of the name *Sorbioduni* or *Sarum* in the same *Iter*, it having been obviously intended to be understood, "to the town of *Vindomum*," and "to the town of *Sorbiodunum*" in both cases. In the same way we have the name *Villâ Faustini* inserted in *Iter* v of Antoninus. One copy, according to Gale, varies the appellation to *Vindini*; and on the whole the name might have been *Vindomum* or *Vindonum*; of which two we find that Camden chose the latter. Regarding the derivation of the name *Vindomum* we cannot speak with precision, as we do not know the true form of the latter part. The commencing portion "Vin," is, according to Baxter, a form of the word "pen," head, or chief; the first letter of which, in composition, occurs as a *p*, *b*, or *v*. We will here note if the form of the name *Vindonum* be the true one, or if it were a name in common with *Vindomum*, which this place bore, that in such case certain historical events, usually otherwise attributed, might possibly be connected with it.

The remaining name given by Nennius, in his *Historia Britonum*, c. 21, *Mirmanton* may be judged to be a very corrupted form of the appellation "*Mawr-ven-tun*," which being an amalgamation of the words "great" and "chief" and "town," may easily be understood to imply "metropolis." Nennius gives us this name, when he records the ancient myth,—that Constantius sowed three seeds,—of brass, silver, and gold, on the pavement of *Caer Segont*, or *Mirmanton*, as a charm that there should be no poverty in the place. The town meant may be considered as Silchester, rather than the other *Caer Segont*, which does not seem to have been so important at

that era. We may now proceed to clear up some matters connected with this town in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

The mention of Vindomum, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, forms a topic of discussion, as is well known; and the point is, whether this place be Silchester, or whether Calleva may be so attributed. Camden, Gale, Stukeley, and, it is believed, nearly all the earlier writers, thought the former; but the later ones, though apparently without sufficient reason, have preferred Calleva; which, indeed, geographically, seems rather to have belonged to another state. Calleva, we know, was the capital of the Atrebatas, whose location was Berkshire, whilst Vindomum, Segontium, or Silchester would correspond for the metropolis of the Segontiaci, which state, by pretty general consent, was comprised in the surrounding and adjoining district. Briefly the features of the subject seem to be this; that Vindomum being mentioned twice in the Itinera, and Calleva several times, and there not being a perfect correspondence in the distances given, it is not possible to avoid every contradiction, whether the one or the other place be assigned to Silchester. The only question is, which distances to adopt or correct, so as to make them agree with the mention of Vindomum or Calleva in the Itineraries. In fact, to contract or dilate them to suit one place or the other. The accompanying diagram of the Iters XII and XIV of Antoninus, may perhaps best give a clear view of the subject.

Should the evidence we have thus afforded be thought to acquire further confirmation, we may refer to Iter VII of Antoninus, where the line of road appears to show very evidently that "Vindomum, XV," the next station to Venta Belgarum has been omitted, and the whole number of miles in the Lyons' copy of Antoninus, cxv, is a strong corroboration. The diagram here given, it may be submitted, will sufficiently elucidate the situation of Vindomum.

It is now time to animadvert to the topic which has been of late raised; the gist and purport of which, in fact, amounts to this; that is, admitting Vindonum to be the right form of the name of Silchester, which occurs, with some little variation, in Antoninus, and not Vindomum, how far are we justified in supposing it may be the Vindonissa mentioned by certain authors of the time of Constantine; and, if so, what evidence is there that this place in Britain might have been connected with certain events in which the father of the great

emperor was engaged. We may merely state this case without affirming or denying the result. There seems but a modicum of evidence on either side ; and names, nearly similar in Britain and on the Continent, may have been confused by copyists. We are here, however, to be understood only in relation to a supposed victory gained by Constantius at a British Vin-donum or Vindonissa, under the idea of its being the place meant by the authorities we shall mention. The proof is stronger, though still not absolutely certain as to another subject, which will be touched upon in connection,—the birth of Constantine the Great in this country. In introducing this part of the subject we will, in due course, introduce the other, to which we have before alluded.

That Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, was born in Britain there seems to have been a very strong tradition existing in this country. There is, however, one adverse testimony of Nicephorus, vii, 18, who pronounces her to have been a native of Bythynia, a country, which, in ancient manuscripts, is not unfrequently put by misnomer for Britannia. According also to others, she was a native of Moesia or Pan-onia. Of the place of her birth there is no mention in Nennius, Gildas, or Bede. It first occurs in the British History, or Chronicle of Tysilio, according to which she was the daughter of Coel, a British prince or regulus ; and was, according to the account in the Chronicle, a prodigy of beauty, and of unrivalled proficiency in music and the liberal arts.

The principal objections are the adverse testimonies before alluded to, also the assertion that Constantius Chlorus was not in Britain before A.D. 296, whereas Constantine was born about A.D. 273.

Now there are certain writers, before mentioned, called, by way of distinction and designation, “the panegyric writers,” who lived at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries, and consequently were contemporaries of Constantius Chlorus and his son Constantine, whose orations and addresses to one or the other of those emperors are still extant. These writers living, as they appear to have done, in Belgium or the north of Germany, must have been well acquainted with the place of birth of Constantine ; and if the fact can be ascertained from them, they must be far better evidence than a Constantinopolitan writer, living many centuries afterwards, and desirous perhaps to bring the scene of the birth of the



great emperor near the regions with which he himself was most conversant. Unfortunately, presumptive evidence merely, and not positive evidence, can be obtained from the panegyrical writers.

The passage usually quoted to this effect, it should seem, should be set aside. It is from one of these panegyrists, whose name is not known, and is in these words: "Liberavit ille (Constantius Chlorus) Britannias servitute, tu (Constantine) etiam nobiles illic oriendo fecisti." (*Panegyrici Veteres*, Arntzein's edition, 1790, vol. i, p. 320.) In English this would be thus: he, Constantius Chlorus released Britain from servitude, but thou hast ennobled it by taking thy rise (or origin) thence. Here we must remember that the panegyrist wrote with Roman ideas, and in Roman modes of expression, and the phrase only signifies the dawn of power, the imagery being taken from the sun's rising to begin his daily course. "Oriens Augusti" frequently occurs on Roman coins about this era; therefore no turn is to be given to this passage, as if the panegyrist meant to say Constantine derived his origin from Britain. It may be fully explained by his having been proclaimed emperor there. With this reference, namely, the allusion to the first assumption of power, we may explain two other passages: that addressed to Constantius, A.D. 310, in *Eumenius*, Arntzein, vol. i, p. 373. "O fortunata et nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia quæ Constantium Cæsarem prima vidisti." Or, as we may have it in a translated form, thus: O fortunate Britain, and now become the happiest of lands, who first sawest Constantius Cæsar! Constantius, father of Constantine, having been first elevated to the dignity of Cæsar in Britain, by Diocletian. Also that other passage, unnecessary to quote, in the words of the original here, where Eumenius expresses himself, that as the deities had first descended to the world in remote places, as Mercury in Egypt and Bacchus in India, so Constantine had been sent from the end of the earth (ubi terra finitur) *i. e.* Britain. (p. 373.)

There is however a passage in the panegyric of Eumenius, before Constantine, at Treves, which, in its ordinary sense, implies the birth of Constantine in Britain: "Sacrum istud palatium non candidatus imperii, sed designatus intrasti; confestimque te illi paterni lares successorem videre legitimum;" that is, "Thou didst enter that sacred palace (at York), not as a candidate for the empire, but as already desig-

nated (Constantine had before been elevated to the distinction of Cæsar, A.D. 304), and the paternal household gods (*illi paterni lares*), at once beheld thee as the legitimate successor." The expressions here seem to indicate, according to their most appropriate and obvious application, that the palace at York, where Constantius then lay in his last illness, had been the residence of Constantine in childhood. The passage is certainly capable of another interpretation, but not possibly so obvious a one; and, for this reason, that the allusion to the paternal household gods, would scarcely have been made, had Constantius and his son been merely transient residents there, that is for two years, from A.D. 304 to 306; his former stay, in the year 296, also having been brief.

On this passage alone, therefore, can the presumption of the birth of Constantine in Britain be founded, and even this is not exempt from objections. We may now however proceed to show the probability of an earlier residence of Constantius in Britain than 296.

In order to afford the required illustration, we must refer back to the reign of Galienus, which occupied a period from A.D. 260 to A.D. 268. In this reign the Roman empire became exceedingly disorganized: it being at this time that various usurpers assumed sovereign power in the different parts of the empire. These, from their number, were called the thirty tyrants. Their lives were written by Trebellius Pollio, and their names were as follows:—

1, Cyrias; 2, Posthumius; 3, Posthumius, the younger; 4, Lollianus; 5, Victorinus; 6, Victorinus the younger; 7, Marius; 8, Ingenuus; 9, Regillianus; 10, Aureolus; 11, Macrianus; 12, Macrianus the younger; 13, Quietus; 14, Odenatus; 15, Herodes; 16, Mæonius; 17, Ballista; 18, Valens; 19, Valens superior; 20, Piso; 21, Æmilianus; 22, Saturninus; 23, Tetricus the elder; 24, Tetricus the younger; 25, Trebellianus; 26, Herennianus; 27, Timolaus; 28, Celsus; 29, Zenobia; and 30, Victorina, or Victoria, to whom the title was given of "*Mater Castrorum*."

Of these it is asserted that only two had sway in Britain, Tetricus the elder, whom the legions of Gaul elected emperor in A.D. 267, and who appears to have submitted to Aurelian, in A.D. 272, and was by him received into favour; also, according to some, Victorina had sway in this country; and, it must be remembered, that with Tetricus, his son was associated.

Of Tetricus the coins are extremely frequent indeed in this country. Three inscriptions to him, with the title of emperor, remain at Bittern, near Southampton. See the *Account of the Congress of the Archæological Association at Winchester*, in 1845, p. 163, and plates 5 and 6. Added to this, at Burdeswald, in Cumberland, is a dedication by a cohort stationed there, styled Tetriciani. There is therefore no doubt that the two Tetrici held possession of Britain for several years.

Now it appears in one of the orations of Eumenius to Maximian and Constantine, that the victory gained by Constantius Chlorus, occurred before the birth of Constantine, in the reign of Aurelian and not in that of Diocletian, as supposed by the historian Gibbon. "In primo ætatis suæ flore generavit (Constantinum) toto adhuc corpore vicens illâ præditus alacritate et fortitudine quanquam bella plurima, præcipue campi Vindonissæ idonei." (*Arntzein*, vol. i, p. 357.) Another victory gained by Constantius, the battle of Langres, the "victoria Lingonica," mentioned by Eumenius, must have also occurred about this time, as there seems no question it took place before the triumphal entry of Aurelian into Rome, on his return from the conquest of Arabia, in A.D. 274, when he assumed the title of "RESTITUTOR ORBIS."

About this period the Romans seem almost to have become tired of writing their history, at least due accounts of these matters have not descended to us. There is therefore the greater uncertainty where to place the battle called the battle of Vindonissa. It is very true there was a Vindonissa in Switzerland, mentioned twice in Tacitus (*Histories*, iv, 61, 70), as a station of the Roman legions, but it is still possible this may not be the place meant. From the imperfection of Roman history, before alluded to, we do not know by what means Britain was recovered again by the Romans from the dominion of Tetricus. Tetricus himself, it is well known, surrendered peaceably to the Romans, about the year 273, and was received into favour, but it does not follow that Britain was included in this surrender, and had not been conquered before. Admitting it to have been subdued before, as there was a strong force of the revolters in the island, that is, three Roman legions and auxiliaries, the customary "Britannicus exercitus," maintained by the Romans in these quarters, Constantius might have had to fight a very severe battle before he could establish his authority; and a Belgic orator,

speaking thirty years after the event, may have confused Vindonissa with Vindonum, admitting that Vindomum was sometimes so called. Further than this we cannot say on this uncertain point. In one respect Vindomum would suit, as the Belgic orator describes the field of battle as still covered with human bones. "*Vindonissæ campos hostium strage completos, et adhuc ossibus opertos*" (*Arntzein*, p. 363); that is, the fields of Vindonissa, burdened with the slaughter of the enemy, and still covered over with bones; and within fifteen miles of Vindomum or Silchester, to the south-west, is actually a parish called Lichfield (*i. e.* the field of carcasses), or Ludshelf, which, to have derived its name, must have been the scene of some slaughter formerly.

We must here leave this question. It has been shown that one of the panegyric writers probably alludes to the birth of Constantine in Britain, also that a further probability exists of a prior visit of Constantius to this country, about the years 271 or 272, when the alliance might have been formed with the Princess Helena. In course of time further proof may possibly arise. In the meanwhile considerable weight seems due to the concurrent voice of ancient British history and tradition on this point; and if the fact be established, there seems scarcely a doubt Vindomum or Segontium, that is, Silchester, was connected with some of the earlier transactions of Constantius in this country.

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NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS  
OF  
ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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BOOK III.  
HISTORIES, CHRONICLES, STONE MONUMENTS, ETC.

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CHAPTER I.  
THE BRITISH HISTORIES OF GILDAS AND NENNIUS; AND THE  
ANCIENT BRITISH CHRONICLES.

THE claims of the works of Gildas and Nennius to the title of histories, are now pretty generally allowed. The reader must not suppose that they bear the polish of the productions of Thucydides, Livy, or Tacitus, as they are much tinged with the rudeness of the times in which they were written; though indeed some passages in Gildas are animated and forcible. With this remark we may proceed to examine them as connected with our present purpose; and, afterwards, pass on to the ancient British Chronicles.

GILDAS AND HIS WORK.

There were, at least, three persons of this name in the early times of Britain, and to which of them the celebrated work *De Excidio Britanniae* is to be attributed is yet undecided, according to the most recent authors. The persons in question may be enumerated.

I. Gildas Albanus, or Sapiens, the son of Caw, prince of the Strathclyd or Caledonian Britons, who, after the battle of Cattraeth, took refuge in Wales, and became an ecclesiastic; he preached in Ireland, went to Rome, and settled at Glastonbury monastery, and had a great reputation for austerity and sanctity; and the following works are attributed to him:—  
1. *Commentarii Evangeliorum*; 2. *De Primis Habitatoribus Insulae*; 3. *Versus Vaticiniorum*; 4. *De Sexto Cognoscendo*; 5. *De Eodem Sexto*; 6. *Regum Britannorum Historia*; 7. *De Victoriâ Aurelii Ambrosii*; 8. *Acta Germani et Lupi*. He is conjectured to have been the same person as Aneurin, the celebrated poet, by many, among whom is Dr. Owen Pughe in his *Cambrian Biography*, and the Rev. Robert Williams in

his *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welchmen*. This Gildas, according to an ancient *Account of Glastonbury*, by William of Malmsbury, printed by Gale, died in the year 512 : See also Usher's *Primordia*, fol. 1687, p. 251. Two lives, purporting to be of this Gildas, are extant,—one attributed to Caradoc of Lancarvan, the Welch historian, of the twelfth century, the other by an unknown author. The first is printed in Mr. Stevenson's edition of Gildas, 8vo, 1838, and both in Dr. Giles's *Historical Documents relating to the Ancient Britons*, 8vo, 1847, vol. ii, p. 421—455. In the first the mention of Gildas is much connected with that of Arthur, as his being in Glastonbury, when it was besieged by that king, &c. ; and yet the date is incompatible, as he had not begun his reign in the year in which this Gildas is said to have died. The reader may find a series of the acts of this Gildas in Usher's *Primordia*, extending through the years 455, 462, 463, 484, 498, 508, 510, 511, and 512, taken from his said life by Caradoc of Lancarvan, and a few other attainable sources. Gildas Albanus is distinctly called "Historiographus" in the said life, and also by William of Malmsbury, in his account of Glastonbury. But the correct view seems to be, that his histories, if he wrote any, did not include the *De Excidio*; that, if his transactions with Arthur, the British king, be authentic, there must be a great confusion of dates ; and, lastly, that the author of the anonymous life has confused him with another Gildas, a very different person, whom we may now proceed to mention.

II. Gildas Badonicus. Usher gives some account of him in his *Primordia*, connected with the years 540, 554, 564, 566, and 570, in which last he died. The facts of his life seem to be as follows : He was on a mission to Ireland in 540 ; went to Armorica in 554, where he founded the monastery of Rieux ; and was invited to Ireland by king Aumeric, where he died in 570. Bale attributes the following works to him : 1. *De Excidio Britannia* ; 2. *Conciones Mordentes* (perhaps the sequel to the foregoing, called the *Epistola*) ; 3. *Historia quædam* ; and 4. *De Immortalitate Animæ*. The anonymous account, which we have supposed should be more correctly applied to him, and not to Gildas Albanus, seems to be nothing more than a commemorative legend of him as connected with the foundation of the said monastery of Rieux. The writer did not know in what part of Britain Strathcluyd

was situated, and does not appear to have discriminated between the two saints who bore the name of Gildas.

III. There was also a Gildas Cambrius, who lived at an uncertain date, to whom Bale ascribes, 1, *Libri Epigrammatum*, and, 2, *Cambreis*, a poem. Perhaps this Gildas is alluded to in the *Historia Britannica* of Ponticus Virunnius, 12mo, 1585, in some of the passages at his pages, 2, 4, 7, and 43, where he mentions persons of that name. In the first of these, in quoting the well known hexameter and pentameter verses in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Chronicle*, i, 11, beginning

"Diva potens memorum terror silvestribus apris,"

he says that they were the verses of Gildas, a distinguished British poet, who lived in the reign of Claudius Augustus, i.e. Claudius Gothicus (who reigned from A.D. 271, to A.D. 273), and translated them out of the Greek. Here a strange error had apparently crept into the text, of Claudius Augustus for Romulus Augustulus, Emperor of Rome, whose sway terminated about the year 476. Otherwise, if the text be correct, the quotation will not apply to our present purpose; and, for this reason, because the verses seem to be a part of the same poem, of which an extract is given by Fordun, in his *Scotch Chronicle*, beginning

"Bruti posteritas, cum Scotis associata."

in which afterwards the Saxon invasion is mentioned. Further it may be incidentally observed, that these verses are not in Tysilio's *Chronicle*, but are added by Geoffrey of Monmouth, without remark. Also it may be noted that the words "verses translated from the Greek," in Ponticus Virunnius, appear only to mean that Brutus is described as addressing the goddess in Greek, and as receiving the oracle in that language, which Gildas had expressed in Latin verse.

The second passage, at page 4, is where he speaks of the contention between Lhud and his brother Nennius, respecting altering the name of London. He says that he forebore giving the particulars of this dispute, because they had been given so much at length by Gildas, the famous historian and poet. Here it is somewhat doubtful if he mean the same person, as he mentioned a Gildas, a poet before, but this one is an historian likewise. Geoffrey of Monmouth, when alluding to the said dispute, in a parallel passage merely says, "Gildas, the historian," in his book, i, 17. In some copies of Tysilio

the name of Gildas is not mentioned at all; in others, where it is, he is neither styled historian, or poet. (See Robert's *Tysilio*, pp. 30, 31.)

In the third instance he refers to the "Prophecy of the Bird," at p. 7, on the occasion of Rhiwallon the king sacrificing in the temple of Diana, which he said had been celebrated by Gildas, in a fine epigram. It may be concluded he here means the Gildas he first mentioned, the writer of the Latin verses before referred to, but there is no parallel passage in *Geoffrey* or *Tysilio*. A little further on in the same page, where the laws of Dunwallo Molmutius are mentioned, Ponticus Virunnius does not mention Gildas: the name however is in the parallel passage in *Tysilio*, (see Roberts, p. 48,) as also in *Geoffrey* of Monmouth, ii, 17, where the blessed Gildas is said to have given an account of those laws.

In the fourth instance, at p. 43, he very unmistakeably alludes to the *De Excidio*, referring to an account which Gildas, a famous poet, had written of the ravages of the Saxons. There is, therefore, an evident possibility that Ponticus Virunnius mentions more than one person of this name; nor does *Geoffrey* of Monmouth, who, in his *History*, iv, 20, refers to the treatise of a Gildas on the victory of Aurelius Ambrosius, and in his book vi, 13, has mentioned that a Gildas wrote an account of the miracles of St. Germanus and St. Lupus, at all solve the difficulty.

The foregoing references to Ponticus Virunnius, merely serve to show the confused state of the subject. All that appears certain is, that there was one epic poem at least, written by some person of the name of Gildas, having for its subject the early history of Britain; but if the verses given by *Geoffrey* of Monmouth, be part of it, as also the Prophecy of the Bird referred to by Ponticus Virunnius, they do not seem much in character with what we hear of either Gildas Albanus, or Gildas Badonicus, who were missionaries and teachers. There is, therefore, no fixing on definite and determined points in this subject; or, at least, on a sufficient number of definite and determined points, in order to be able to dispel the mists which involve it.

Respecting the poem, Lillius Giraldus, or Lilio Gregorio, as he is also called, who wrote, about the year 1450, an *Account of Latin and Greek Poets*, in two volumes, says, in his second volume, p. 306, that he remembered to have read a British



poet Gildas, whose elegance of versification he admired at the time, and whom he afterwards found quoted in an ancient British history. This must of course refer to the poem to which our present observations relate. We may conclude our remarks on this supposed work of Gildas, by observing that, in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, there is an epic poem in hexameters, with a title in a hand of the 16th century, ascribing it to Gildas. This is of a much more ecclesiastical turn than that of which there are portions in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*; but there may be some considerable difficulty to show, by internal evidence or otherwise, that it should be properly assigned to Gildas. Indeed, the contrary is inferred by Usher in his *Primordia*, who gives some considerable extracts from it; nor does it meet with a more favorable reception from other critics.

One minor difficulty, tending to confuse two authors, may easily be explained. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his *History*, vi, 13, quotes Gildas for the Acts of St. Germanus and St. Lupus, and cites passages which at present are only found in the *History* of Nennius; but this would seem no great contradiction, for it may be concluded that Nennius himself had first taken those passages from a work of Gildas now lost.

There only appear to be the following works now extant, whether real or apocryphal, ascribed to a person or persons of the name of Gildas, namely, the *De Excidio Britanniae*, of which we now treat; the apocryphal *Chronicle*, in hexameter verse, assigned to him, as has just been mentioned, marked Julius, D. xi, in the Cottonian Library, and *Verses to Sextus, King of Ireland*, in the Bodleian, to which his name is affixed; and the same also appear to be in the Cottonian Library, marked Vespasian, E. vii, p. 85—876. To these may be added about twenty verses of an *Historical Poem* on Britain, preserved in Geoffrey of Monmouth and Fordun, mentioned before; which poem, from the specimen given, must have been in a good style of versification; indeed, we may almost express surprise, that a production of such poetical merit is not come down to us.

To sum up the brief results of our inquiries respecting Gildas. The true Gildas must have been born in the year 492, as has been shown in the former page 63. This would agree extremely well with the person styled Gildas Badonicus, the

principal events of whose life are placed in the years 540, 544, and 566, and who died in the year 570. It has likewise been shown in our First Book, that his work must have been written about the year 545, 546 or 547, which would likewise agree very completely. Further than this, there is no correspondence; and as regarding Gildas Albanus, termed "the Historian" in the Glastonbury obituary, according to William of Malmesbury, and in his biography by Caradoc of Llanancarvan, who, in a passage in Giraldus Cambrensis in his *De Illaudibilibus Walliæ* as printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii, p. 448, is styled the author of the *De Excidio*, there is no correspondence at all in any of the recorded acts of his life; though it is very probable that he also may have written a history of Britain distinct from the *De Excidio*; which indeed is not properly a history. That the true Gildas wrote his *De Excidio* in Armorica, has sometimes been inferred from a passage in c. 20 of the *Epistle* of Gildas, where it is said, in an invective against Constantine; "Age jam, quasi præsentem arguo quem adhuc superesse non nescio." *i. e.* "Well then, I reprove thee as present, knowing that thou still survivest." This is the only intimation of the fact, and at least implies that Gildas was residing at some distance from Constantine and his territories at the time of his writing his work. Respecting Gildas, we may here likewise add the verses at the end of the Cambridge manuscript, F. f. i, 27:

"Historiam Gylde Cormac sic perlege scriptam  
 Doctoris digitis, sensu cultuque redactam.  
 Hæc tennes superat, multos carpitque superbos."

Here the meaning is perfectly obscure, whether Cormac be the surname of Gildas, or the name of the scribe or his employer, or whether an epithet or title of Gildas be merely expressed. The verses then appear to be of no value. We may now proceed more immediately to a consideration of the contents of the work.

First, as to the style. This has been rather too harshly censured; for though certainly too much involved, there is much of it which is very forcibly and well expressed. His chief fault in composition is, that he pays more attention to the cadence and rhythm of his periods than to their structure. Hence results his obscurity, and that some beauties of his style in forcible description which he really possesses, are overlooked.

Our attention, however, is diverted from matters of style by the great interest of some parts of the contents, and the

strange tenor which other portions of them exhibit. We find him indulging in the most preposterous calumnies against the ancient Britons. A whole series of transactions is perverted relating to the original conquest of the country by the Romans, under Claudius, the re-conquest of it by Constantius Chlorus after the rebellions of Carausius and Allectus, as well as other events misrepresented. He appears to depreciate the whole nation rather unfairly, and his perpetually repeated tirade is, "that the Britons are neither brave in war nor faithful in peace." In short, he gives an unfair preponderancy to everything connected with Rome, which has excited a strong prepossession against him in the minds of many modern Cambrians. Indeed endeavours have been made to prove his work a forgery. See Roberts's Essay, in his edition of the *Chronicle of Tysilio*, p. 191-217. These are particulars so singular in their nature, and it would seem so unwarranted, as to induce us to inquire under what bias he wrote, a particular which may be deserving a short consideration.

It does not appear that Gildas should be deemed a Roman, though he evidently closely identifies himself with the Roman party, which after the departure of the Roman forces was powerful enough to have representatives of its interests on the British throne, in the persons of Constantine of Armorica, Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, Uther Pendragon, and Arthur. Gildas has been thought to have been not a Briton but a Roman, from an expression which he uses, c. 23, where, speaking of the arrival of the Saxons, he says that they came "tribus ut linguâ ejus exprimitur cyulis, nostrâ linguâ longis navibus," *i.e.* in three keels, as is expressed in their tongue, but as in ours, long ships. And certainly if he meant to say that the Latin language was his own, all doubt would be removed, but it is most probable that he is only speaking of the term "longships," and giving the phrase as in his own tongue; which gives a different turn to the whole passage.

The whole voice of antiquity besides speaks of him as a British author; but there is another feature under which we must view him. He was a monk as well, as will presently be shown; and though his times were before Popish domination was fully established, yet the Romish church was then rapidly rising to its ultimate ascendancy, and among the Romanising clergy of the day there was a great predilection for everything connected with Roman power both Christian and Pagan. See

the *History* of Orosius, vii, 6. We have before observed that there was a strong Roman faction in the island to which we have supposed him to belong. Thus his being doubly connected by political ties and religious predilection, may in some measure account not only for his inveighing against his countrymen for their vices, but also for his taking a very unfavourable and prejudiced view of their former insurrections, and in short of all British transactions with Rome.

His admonitions to his countrymen certainly very far exceeded all customary limitations, and he seems in some measure to have placed himself in the position of one of the prophets of the Old Testament, by no means using smooth words, but reproving both high and low, the kings, priests, and people, with great openness and unreservedness for their sins. Had he confined himself to this he could not have been called unpatriotic, but would have been a true friend and benefactor to his country: but it must be confessed that he is very reprehensible when speaking of the past transactions of the Britons, for not having taken more pains to ascertain correctly historical facts. From this cause his reputation suffers, both as he is viewed as an ecclesiastic, and as an author.

We have thus come to an intelligible explanation of the peculiar line adopted in his work. He himself in his preface gives us an account of his motive for writing, *i.e.* that he found irreligion and corruption of morals spreading, which he wished to oppose, and that he lamented the accumulation of misfortunes in his country. He added, that he had meditated publishing his reproof for ten years or more, and at length did it on mature reflection, and on the entreaty of his dearest friends.

His reproving the vices of his countrymen of course did not warrant him in making false or unduly biassed historical statements, which, Mr. Roberts asserts, are imputations of such a nature that no Briton could have written against his countrymen, and therefore pronounces the work a forgery. See his *Chronicle of Tysilio*, p. 210. We have already alluded to this idea of Mr. Roberts in the preceding page; and have also before, in our page 33, briefly directed attention to the peculiar events to which the chapters, 6, 7, and 13 to 18 of Gildas, usually so much misunderstood, really apply. The present therefore may be the proper time to meet more

specifically the objection of Mr. Roberts, which it seems is frequently entertained by others. See Mr. Williams's *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*, p. 166, and to show that Gildas, writing at a period when prepossessions were running strong against Britain among the clergy of the Latin church on the Continent, on account of the Pelagian heresy, and yielding to the prejudices of the day, might have considered that there was colour for his disparaging statements, from authorities in Roman accounts.

We now then may proceed to some detailed examination of the narrative of Gildas, in reference to the point in question, which will well repay the trouble in making many parts of his work available, as materials for history, which have not been so before. There is still, however, a preliminary inquiry to be made on a subject, important to the consideration of ancient British affairs; the want of duly understanding which has much impeded a correct knowledge of them. The point in question is, whether Gildas says that at the time of his writing, all British records and histories had perished, which occasioned him to use an imperfect narrative, written on the Continent. This is, as Gildas is usually understood to say, which has occasioned many to regard modern researches on the subject of ancient British history as useless. In answer to this it may be confidently asserted that Gildas says no such thing. What Gildas does say, or what he implies, is to the following effect: that he could not find a British account of the whole series of insurrections in the island against the Roman government, and of the injuries done to the citizens removed afar off, probably meaning the Britons settled in Armorica. Such a narrative, which indeed in many respects must have been a counterpart of his own, and which must have had a particular political bias; that is, been written in the Roman interest, he remarks he could not find; but he is not to be understood as saying that no British histories or records of any kind were in existence in his time.\* His words are, "*Illa tamen proferre conabor in medium quæ temporibus imperatorum Romanorum et passa est, et aliis intulit civibus longe positis mala; quantum tamen potuero, non tam*

\* In the ensuing Chapter III of the present Book some works are referred to, mentioned even as late as the time of Gaimar, in the twelfth century, by that writer in his concluding verses, which must have applied to the transactions of the Romans in this country.

ex scripturis patriæ, scriptorumve monimentis, quippe quæ vel si qua fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta aut civium exsillii classe longius deportata non compareant, quam transmarinâ relatione quæ crebris irrupta intercapedinibus non satis claret." This, in English, will be, "I will endeavour to bring forward an account of those calamities which the island has suffered in the times of the Roman emperors, and what she has inflicted on her citizens now at a distance (*i. e.* the Armorican Britons), but not from histories of the country, or the compilations of its writers; for if there have been any such, they have either been burnt by the fires of the enemy, or carried abroad by the fugitive inhabitants, but from a foreign narrative, which having many chasms, is not always perfectly clear.

To proceed with the contents of this author. Chapter III, which begins the history, describes the island. Chapter IV describes the prevailing state of idolatry previous to the Roman conquest, and to the introduction of Christianity. Chapter V describes the Roman conquest in the days of Claudius, after the settlement of the Parthian affairs under Augustus and Tiberius, and other acquisitions of empire in the eastern parts of the world. It describes it without battle or bloodshed, as in Suetonius and Orosius, a circumstance, as we know, arising from a strange mistake in the former Roman historian, as will be fully shown in the subsequent chapter. However, he uses the presumption of this fact much to the disadvantage of the Britons. Chapter VI describes a temporary withdrawal of the Roman troops, and consequent on it, the insurrection of Carausius, and the slaughter of the Roman governors left behind, by the Britons, and the subsequent re-conquest of the Romans. Chapter VII details the retaliation of the Romans and the punishments inflicted on the island. These two chapters are usually referred to Boadicea and her overthrow; but they have no such reference; and we will here extract a few lines, and show the due application, explaining them so as to leave no possibility of doubt or cavil on this head.

Gildas, Chapter VI, says, "*Quibus statim Romani ob inopiam cespitis ut aiunt repedantibus et nihil de rebellione suspicantibus, rectores sibi relictos ad enuncianda plenius vel confirmanda Romani regni molimina Leæna tracidavit dolosa; i. e.*—From whom the Romans, retracing their steps on account of the poverty of the country, as it is said, and apprehending no

insurrection, the crafty lioness (*i. e.* Britain) slew the governors who had been left behind, to signify and confirm more fully the intentions of the Roman domination.

Now a passage in Eumenius, one of the writers called panegyric, greatly explains the above. It is of the date of 296 or 297, and taken from his oration addressed to Constantius Chlorus. He says, describing the first beginning of the insurrection of Carausius, "*Ista vero nefario latrocinio abducta primum a fugiente (Carausio) piratâ classe quæ olim Gallias tuebatur; ædificatisque præterea plurimis in nostrum modum navibus; occupatâ legione Romanâ, interclusis aliquot peregrinorum militum cuneis contractisque ad delectum mercatoribus Gallicanis sollicitatis per spolia ipsarum provinciarum non mediocribus copiis barbarorum,*" etc.

Here, from the doubtful word "*occupatâ*" seems to have originated the extraordinary statement in Gildas, that the Roman troops quitted the island, expressed by the words "*quibus repedantibus,*" *i. e.* who retracing their steps. The obvious way to translate the word, and the two or three immediately following, would be, "the Roman legion being gained over, and the foreign cohorts attached to it." Thus Crevier translates, having bribed or intimidated the only Roman legion then in the island, and some foreign troops which accompanied that legion; but the words are also capable of being rendered—"the Roman legion being engaged on service elsewhere, and the foreign cohorts hemmed in in certain garrisons." In any case, however, it does not seem necessary to understand with Gildas, that they were removed entirely out of the island, but only that they were engaged in service in some distant part of it.

Leaving the doubtful word undecided, the translation of the passage from Eumenius will be, "By that wicked theft, the fleet being taken off by that fugitive pirate (Carausius), which formerly protected Gaul, and many ships being built after our manner, and the Roman legion and its cohorts being gained over; or the Roman legion being on service elsewhere, and the foreign cohorts shut up in garrisons, the Gaulish merchants being brought together to furnish ships, and great numbers of the barbarians being allured by the hopes of the plunder of the provinces," etc. etc.

Now we go to the part where Gildas speaks of the recovery of Britain by the Romans, and their subsequent proceedings,

which events are described with such a colouring by Eumenius, as might easily have been the foundation of Gildas's extraordinary misconceptions and misstatements in some respects; whilst other circumstances which Eumenius has not, namely, those relating to the excessive vengeance, and to the state of humiliation to which they reduced the British inhabitants, may have been drawn from some other source. Gildas says, in continuation c. 6 and 7:—

“Quibus ita gestis cum talia senatui nunciarentur et propero exercitu vulpeculis ut fingeat subdolis ulsisci festinasset, non militaris in mari classis parata fortiter dimicare pro patriâ, neque quadratum agmen, neque dextrum cornu, alius ve belli apparatus in littore conseritur, sed terga pro scutis fugantibus dabant, et colla gladiis, gelido per ossa tremore currente, manusque vincientiæ muliebriter protenduntur; ita ut in proverbium et in derisum longe lateque efferatur quod non Britanni sint in bello fortes, nec in pace fideles.

“Itaque Romani multis perfidorum cæsis, nonnullis ad servitutem, ne terra penitus in solitudinem redigeretur municipalibus reservatis patriâ vini oleique experte relictâ Italiam petunt, suorumque quosdam præpositos relinquentes, indigenarum dorsis mastigias cervicibus jugum solo nomen Romanæ servitutis hærere facturos, ac non tam militari manu quam flagellis callidam gentem maceratueros, et si res sic postulasset ense ut dicitur vaginâ vacuum lateri ejus populi accommodatueros; ita ut non Britannia sed Romana insula censeretur, et quicquid habere potuisset æris, argenti, vel auri imagine Cæsaris notaretur.”

The translation of this highly-coloured passage is:—“These things being thus, and when on their being communicated to the senate, they speedily dispatched an army to take revenge on the crafty foxes, as they expressed it, the Britons prepared no fleet bravely to fight for their country; they had no army drawn up in due array for battle, nor was there any right wing advanced, nor any warlike preparation made on the shore; but they gave their backs for shields to those who put them to flight, and offered their necks to the swords, a cold terror chilling them to the bones, and they stretched forth their hands like women to be bound; so that it became a proverb and derision spread far and wide, that the Britons are neither brave in war or faithful in peace.

“Thus the Romans returned to Italy, having ravaged our



country, and having slain many of the traitors, and reduced some to perpetual slavery, that the land might not become entirely an uncultivated waste. They left behind them part of their number to keep the scourge applied to their backs, and the yoke to their necks, and to enforce that the name of slavery to the Romans should become inseparable to the land. These rulers were deputed not so much to govern with military power, as to keep them under with whips; and should circumstances require it, to sheath, as the saying is, their naked swords in their sides. Thus it became that the island was no longer considered Britain but the Roman Island, and all the money which there was in the country, whether of brass, silver, or gold, was stamped with the image of Cæsar.

Extracts from the account of the recovery of Britain in the oration of Eumenius, as before said, will fully show Gildas's sources. They are thus.

“Tantæ se dorso maris nebulæ miscuerunt ut inimica classis apud Vectam insulam in speculis atque insidiis collocata ignorantibus omnino hostibus præteriretur, ne vel moraretur impetum quamvis non posset obsistere . . . . . Ipse ille autem (Allectus) signifer nefariæ factionis cur ab eo littore quod tenebat abscessit, cur classem portumque deseruit? . . . . . Utcunque cum ducibus tuis maluit experiri, quam præsens majestatis tuæ fulmen excipere . . . . . Te tamen ille fugiens incidit in tuorum manus; a te victus a tuis exercitibus oppressus est. Denique adeo trepidus et te post terga respiciens, et in modum amentis attonitus properabat ad mortem, ut nec explicarit aciem nec omnes copias quas trahebat instruxerit sed cum veteribus illis conjurationis auctoribus, et mercenariis cuneis barbarorum tanti apparatus oblitus irruerit . . . Omnes enim illos ut audio campos atque colles non nisi teterrimorum hostium corpora fusa texerunt,” etc.

In English.—So thick were the mists on the sea, that the enemies' fleet stationed on the look out, and in a species of ambushcade, near the Isle of Wight, which though it could only have offered an ineffectual opposition might have occasioned delay, was passed by unobserved . . . . . He (Allectus), the standard-bearer of that nefarious faction, why did he abandon the shore of which he had possession? why did he desert his fleet and the port? Forsooth, he preferred trying his fortune with your generals, rather than to confront the thunders of the majesty of your presence . . . . . Nevertheless,

he fleeing from thee, fell into the hands of thy commanders. He was first conquered by thee, and afterwards thy army overthrew him. For in short turning round in his flight, and seeing thee behind his back, he became stricken with terror like a person deprived of his senses, and hastened to his death ; so that he neither properly drew up his army in battle array nor brought forward all his forces : but forgetful of the great armament he might have brought into the field, he made his attack with those the ancient authors of the conspiracy, and with his barbarian cohorts . . . . . All those hills and fields which were covered with the slain, presented only as I am informed the dead bodies of those our worst of enemies, etc.

Here, then, it is very easy to see whence the materials of Gildas's narrative, were derived, *i.e.* not apparently from Eumenius, but from cognate accounts : the existence of which the above extracts cannot but inform the reader. The only material discrepancy is the fleet, the existence of which, from its non-action, seems to have been overlooked. The reader must remember that there are only violent partizan accounts come down to us of the suppression of this insurrection, in which the exact narrative is scarcely to be looked for. For this one-sided account Eumenius himself prepares us, when he tells us of the extreme joy which the defeat of Alleclus gave to the Britons, by which name in that place he seems to mean the Roman inhabitants of Britain, and such of the Britons as had espoused the Roman cause.

Thus we are able to clear away important difficulties in Gildas ; and it may be here noted that the money ordered to be struck, or re-struck, with the image of Cæsar, applies to the coinage of Constantius, in which the word Cæsar is generally expressed.

There needs scarcely further comment on Gildas's History, than to say, that in chapters 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, he passes to ecclesiastical history, after which he proceeds with a narrative of miscellaneous events to the end.

Notice likewise is due to what is called the Epistle of Gildas, or the part subjoined immediately after the historical narrative. This division of the work into two portions is certainly corresponding to the different nature of the respective contents ; but the two earliest printed editions, those of Polydore Vergil and Josselin, have no break or division ; nor indeed has the Cambridge manuscript, D, d, i, 17. Josselin also, in

the first words of the preface, for "in hoc libro," has "in hac epistolâ," which induced Mr. Petrie to think that the present usual titles of this work, *i.e.* of the first part, *Historia*, and of the second *Epistola*, are wrong, and that the original title of the whole was the *Epistola Gildæ*. (See the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, fol. 1849, p. 62.) Nevertheless, this is somewhat doubtful, since Gildas himself, in his preface, calls his work his "Historiola and Admonitiuncula," *i.e.* brief history and admonitor, and Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *De Illaudabilibus Walliæ*, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii, p. 488, styles it "Liber de Excidio Britonum." Leaving then this doubtful question, and taking the divisions of the works as they stand, the epistle of course gives us some information as to church matters in Britain in the sixth century, though on the whole, perhaps, not so much as might have been expected. What we call the epistle is itself virtually divided into two portions: the first addressed to the kings and people of the island, or at least a part of it, the second to the priests. Being written only half a century before the plenary establishment of the pope's power, it is no wonder that it is foreshadowed in the epistle by many expressions which savour of popish tenets. The power of the pope could never have risen into existence unless there had been a certain preparation for it in men's minds beforehand.

Of original manuscripts of Gildas, whether of his History, or of his Epistle, only two appear to be now known, both in the public library at Cambridge; though about 200 years since: at the date of Usher and his contemporaries several were in existence. On the whole, considering the tirades this work contains against the Britons who are lashed most acrimoniously, and its no less biting declamations against the Saxons, who are represented as almost demons of slaughter and devastation, this production has had an escape indeed in having reached our times. Its authorship, standing in connection with the names of two eminent saints,—the one of much-cherished recollection at Glastonbury, the other the founder of an abbey in France, its evident leaning to Rome, and the curiosity excited by some of its peculiarities, can be the only causes which, in the nineteenth century, have placed it in our hands, while other documents of the same date have disappeared.

In reference to printed editions,—the first was that of

Polydore Vergil, London, 1525; one at Paris, 8vo, 1541; that of Josselin, Archbishop Parker's secretary, London, 1568. An edition at Basil, 12mo, 1568; another at Basil, in the *Patres Orthodoxographi*, fol. 1569. An edition at Paris, 12mo, 1576; Habington's English translation, 12mo, London, 1638. An edition in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, fol. Lyons, 1677; an edition in Gale's *XV Scriptores*, folio, London, 1687; Bertram's, at Copenhagen, 12mo, 1757; Mr. Stevenson's, 8vo, London, 1838; Dr. Giles's English Translation, 8vo, London, 1841; and his Latin edition, in his *Historical Documents concerning the ancient Britons*, 8vo, London, 1847; and an edition in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, fol., London, 1848. Many of the above, it need scarcely be observed, are only reprints.

#### NENNIUS AND HIS WORK.

We have a very different and a far wider result presented to us from the examination of the original manuscripts of this history than could be obtained in the former case; since the manuscripts of Gildas, besides suggesting various readings, go no further than raising some doubts as to what was originally the actual title of the work; but, in this instance, the original manuscripts form three distinct divisions, for so we are able to arrange them from late discoveries; and thus, at the present day, Nennius can be edited with quite new and altered features. We will, however, enter presently into these particulars, proceeding in the meantime with some preliminary remarks.

This work is sometimes attributed to the elder Nennius, Abbot of Bangor, in the seventh century, or to Nennius, disciple of St. Elbodus, also of Wales, in the ninth. The later Nennius seems at length sufficiently identified: however this point need not now detain us, as the fact will appear when we come to treat of the early manuscript copies to which we have just alluded. We can therefore continue with a few general remarks.

Considering the wide blank of history which this work fills up, and the corroboration it gives to other ancient accounts, which, without it, would have no support, it is indeed a most valuable relic, though it must be confessed written in a very uncultivated and unadorned style; even much more so than

the companion work of Gildas, which, though rugged and involved at places, has still many passages well expressed, and is sustained throughout, with an animated and forcible declamation. It is a compilation from still earlier chronicles, and works which have not reached us, from which the style may have been transfused; and it is observable that there are harsher barbarisms, introduced at places; which may be marginal notes taken into the text.

From the contents it is evident that this work was reduced from its original dimensions to a comparatively shorter form, and that when become compressed to its briefer limits great additions were made to it subsequently; sometimes from earlier copies, which had a fuller text, and at other times from sources which were apparently extraneous from any previous copy or edition. If we only recur to the various ancient editions which have been made of Nennius, it will be easily perceived how this has been. Hence some speculation is excited, and much scrutiny is required to ascertain what particular portions may have stood in any of the earlier copies. However this is more especially the province of an editor of the work; or of those who make use of it for historical purposes.

In this way the two prefaces of the work may be explained, which obviously belonged to two early editions: but a later manuscript, that of the public library at Cambridge, marked F. f. i, 27, has them both.

Respecting the genealogies, some are of course middle age additions; as various of them extend to the tenth century, while the narrative in the body of the work does not even go down to the seventh.

One thing is very evident that our author was a Cambrian. We may observe that the scene of his narratives is laid as much as possible in Wales. Had he been a south Briton, the conversion of King Lucius and the Britons, as also the sufferings of the British martyrs, would have been more prominent. This is in favour of the very curious list of British cities, having been part of the original. Of these, by far a greater than a due proportion appear to be Welch.

As to the interpolations and marginal notes found in various copies of Nennius, and no work seems to have come down from the ancients with more diversified readings, they have nevertheless this advantage, that some of them being taken from earlier copies, and others from sources now not extant,

they scarcely deserve less attention than the original itself, and are well worthy of being preserved in all future editions of the work.

There are several coincidences in Nennius with Gildas which we should not omit to notice, though he in no case quotes the name of the latter. Both mention the twenty eight Cities of Britain, and note the numerous fortified towers of the Island. One has the Sithican the other the Cichican Channel, meaning the North Sea. Both quote Eusebius. Both notice the foreign trade introduced up the Severn and the Thames. Their History likewise terminate at not very dissimilar periods, though in most respects indeed, they are widely different.

The more accurate knowledge of late obtained respecting Nennius has been alluded to. This is mainly connected with the publication of the edition of Nennius under the title of the *Leabhar Breathnach*, by the Irish Archæological Society, 4to, pp. 433, Dublin, 1848. This work was translated and edited by the Rev. Dr. Todd M.B.I.A., Secretary of the Society, and is accompanied by an introduction and copious notes, by the Hon. Algernon Herbert. The publication of the above work certainly forms an era in matters relating to our ancient British history; but there are still some intricacies. We can only therefore endeavour to give the new discoveries as concisely and clearly as possible.

In the Irish Nennius the new text and the annotations of the editors have solved many difficulties which baffled former critics; as also opened various new views which were wholly inaccessible to them. This a few references will show; but as a preliminary step, we may remark on the sources from which this so highly illustrative text is derived, that is the various Irish manuscripts used for the purpose. These were, (1,) The *Leabhar Breathnach*, marked in the work by the letter D; (2,) The Irish Nennius in the Book of Ballymote, marked B; (3) another copy of Nennius in the Irish language called the Book of Lecan, and marked, L; (4) fragments of ditto, marked U. A few brief references are all that is practicable to note here respecting this highly interesting work, the contents being of a multifarious character; since to enter more upon the respective subjects would require discussions which would go into a considerable length and would be the less required as the statements seem very generally correct.

A.D. 822.—Marcus, a Briton born, and an Irish bishop,

who died an Anchorite, wrote a Latin history of the Britons, p. 18. Which edition is lost. *Ibid.*

A.D. 858.—Nennius republished it with additions and alterations.

A.D. 906.—Another edition of the publication of Nennius was made, pp. 18 and 19.

A.D. 946.—Date of a copy, the Vatican manuscript, published by Mr. Gunn, of which mention will be made presently. This was transcribed from the text of 822, and consequently is virtually the oldest copy, p. 19; but though taken from the text of 822, it is much varied from it, p. 18. It may be noted incidentally from page xi of the Editor's Preface, that Nennius was not translated into the Irish language till A.D. 1050. However, an earlier translation by the Irish historiographer Guanach, is suspected. p. 21.

As to the two prefaces to Nennius, a subject of considerable difficulty, Mr. Herbert considers the second and shortest as genuine, and the longer one as merely an amplification of it, made for the purpose of showing that Nennius was of the Latin communion, by expressing that he was a disciple, *i.e.* follower of the doctrine of St. Elbodus, who was a noted leader on the opinions of the Latin church respecting the observance of Easter, a matter once of great controversy. pp. 3 and 8.

As to the proofs of the authorship of the copy of A.D. 822, now lost, it is assigned very clearly to the said Marcus, who flourished at the beginning of the 9th century; as Heric of Auxerre, who wrote a life of St. Germanus, published before the year 877, quotes a narrative which he had formerly heard from Marcus of the life of Germanus, the particulars of which are identified with the *Historia Britonum*, p. 12; and the name of Marcus as the author, it must be remembered, is in the text of Gunn's edition in the commencement of the work. Mr. Stevenson, whose edition will be mentioned presently, had made an objection, p. xiv of his edition of Nennius, 8vo, 1838, that Marcus himself, in the same passage of Heric, is represented to say, that those miracles of St. Germanus were related in the "*Litteræ Catholicæ in Britannia*," and consequently that another author is referred to. To this Mr. Herbert justly replies, that the *Litteræ Catholicæ* were evidently not the *Historia Britonum*, but the *Acta* or *Gesta Sanctorum* preserved in the churches, and consequently that the objection did not apply. p. 13.

Light is also thrown on a certain indefinite personage who is introduced on the scene, to which we may offer an addition. In Gale's edition of Nennius, in the XV *Scriptores*, p. 119, one of his manuscripts has the following passage: "(Ego) Samuel, id est infans magistri mei, id est Beulani (*qu.* Benlani) presbyteri in istâ paginâ scripsi," etc.; *i. e.* "I Samuel, that is to say, the child of my master, that is to say, of Beulan (*qu.* Benlan), the priest, wrote it in this very page," etc.; referring, in a species of note, to a certain ancient genealogy, omitted it would appear in some preceding copies. Mr. Herbert prefers regarding the language as figurative, and Samuel not a proper name, but merely used as a phrase for one dedicated to divine studies from his tender years. In confirmation there is an ancient copy of verses in one of the manuscripts of the work, of the best authority, in which the same idea is expressed, and by applying this principle to them, their meaning will be very evident. Thus the supposed British writer Samuel will be entirely cleared away off the stage, whose existence has been hitherto supposed by our writers, and who has been inveighed against by Gale and Bertram in their editions, as having perverted the text. The verses will now be given which are found only in a copy of Nennius, preserved in the public library at Cambridge, and which appears formerly to have belonged to the monks of Durham. The manuscript is of the date of the beginning of the 13th century, but the verses may be presumed to have been taken from older copies. They may here then follow with some emendations, as given in the introduction of the Irish edition of Nennius, partly by Mr. Herbert, and partly by Mr. Maitland.

"Versus Nennini ad Samuelem filium magistri sui Beulani (Benlani) presbyteri, viri religiosi, ad quem historiam suam scripserat.

"Adjutor benignus caris doctor effabilis fonis,  
Gaudium honoris isti Katholicâ lege magni,  
Nos omnes precamur, qui ros sit tutus utatur.  
Xriste tribuisti patri Samuelem, lætâ matre;  
Ymnizat hæc semper tibi longævus Ben servus tui,  
Zonâ induæ salutis istum pluribus annis."

(Above the second line is interlined, *Samueli*; above the fourth, *Beulani*; and above the fifth, the words *mater* and *Samuel*.)



“Versus ejusdem Nennii  
 Formiter qui digitis scripsit ex ordine trinis  
 Incolumis ophthalmis sitque omnibus membris.  
 En vocatur Ben notis litteris nominis quinis.”

From the Cambridge MS., Ff. i, 27, p. 20.

*Translation.*—“Verses made by Nennius, to Samuel the son of his master Benlanus, the priest, (or monk, *vir religiosi*) for whom he composed his work.

“High is the honour of the kind aider of our work in the Latin communion (*catholicā lege*: See *Gunn’s Nennius*, pp. 59, 82, Stevenson’s edition, p. 22, and the Dublin edition, p. 69), of him, the teacher who is worthy to be spoken of in endearing tones. The prayer of us all is, that he, who is as dew from the Lord (*Micah* v, 7), may long possess it. Christ, thou hast given him a Samuel, by a joyful mother (the church), for whom his son, he, the ancient Ben thy servant, ever chaunts forth this intercession. ‘Gird him, O Lord, with a girdle of strength for many years.’”

“VERSES OF THE SAME NENNIUS.”

“May he who wrote this history out with his three fingers, in due form and fair, long preserve the use of his eyes and limbs. Lo, he is called Ben, but you must also know the other five letters of his name.”

There must necessarily have been a correspondency of several particulars to have occasioned the various allusions in these verses.

(1) Nennius, who drew up the *Historia Britonum*, as augmented in its present form from the original copy of Marcus, had in some copies, which he wrote of the work with his own hand, certain portions of an ancient genealogy, which, in other copies which he wrote, by the advice of Benlanus, he omitted. See Stevenson’s edition, p. 8, and *Gale’s XV Scriptores*, p. 119: (2) It appears that Benlanus, or Benlan, himself wrote out one copy of the history, to which cause are attributable, the complimentary verses which Nennius addressed to him: and, (3) It need scarcely be said that the Latin heading is an interpolation; and that, as far as it speaks of the verses having been addressed to Samuel, the son of Benlan, its contents are false.

As to the name Benlan, it seems rightly interpreted by Mr. Herbert, as “head of the church;” but whether it meant the head-priest who had the principal direction of the church service, or that he was the superior of the convent, seems doubtful.

It should be added, that after the verses is appended a date,—“A.D. DCCCLVIII, vicessimo vero quarto Mervini regis Britonum hæc Historia a Nennio Britonum historiographo

est composita." That is, A.D. 858, in the 24th year of Mervin, king of the Britons, this history was composed by Nennius, historian of the Britons. Incidentally, further we may observe, it appears from the foregoing explanations that four or five copies at least of the *Historia Britonum* were made at the monastery of which Nennius was a member, and a degree of genuineness as portions of the work, is given to several detached parts, as the wonders of Britain, &c. &c.

Among the legendary passages introduced in the work, a curious instance is afforded of a personage of antiquity, Aurelius Ambrosius, introduced in one place (c. 31) as an historic character, and in another place (c. 42) as a bardic or mythological creation of fancy. The Irish edition of Nennius offers here no elucidation; nor is the different parentage of Ambrosius, given in the legend, easily reconcilable. It is remarkable that Gildas in his History (c. 25) speaks of Aurelius Ambrosius as of a Roman descent; but in that passage he may be supposed to allude to Asclepiodotus, the original ancestor. It is easy to see that the known Roman descent of Aurelius may, were such the case, have suggested his immediate ancestor to be called a Roman by the concoctor of a legend, in the eighth or ninth century, though it may be difficult to account for that circumstance being admitted by Marcus or Nennius, writers of histories.

Referring, however, again to the Dublin edition, we have many additions made to the text, which are very valuable; whilst many difficulties are solved, in a manner both bold and cautious, and learned and reasonable, of which some instances have been noticed. As this valuable edition of Dr. Todd's, with Mr. Herbert's introduction and notes, is thus added to the former able one of Mr. Gunn, and to that of Mr. Stevenson, Nennius now can be read to great advantage; though still there appears scope for more to be effected, by collation of ancient manuscripts; and a variorum edition of Nennius, combining in one view the notes of the old editors, and those of the learned modern ones, Gunn, Stevenson, Todd, and Herbert, would be a very valuable addition to our historic stores.

As ultimate results of whatever inquiries may be made on the subject of the *History* of Nennius, with the illustrations afforded by modern editions, we appear to be led to the following conclusion; namely, that the *History* of Nennius is to

be viewed in the light of an ecclesiastical history, intended for the Irish, and Britons of the time; indeed principally to bring forward the miracles and acts of Saint Germanus and Saint Patrick, and connect them with history; of the first of whom there had been but little mention in Bede, and none of the latter. The historical matters which are mentioned are but little more than what are subservient to this end, and for this reason the historical narrative appears to have been made to terminate in the middle of the sixth century, at the next remarkable epoch, the conclusion of the reign of Arthur. We have seen that the origin of the work is traced back to A.D. 822, and the authorship assigned to Marcus, an Irish bishop; Nennius, by whose name the work now goes, having been merely a subsequent editor in Britain, A.D. 858. Whether Marcus, in A.D. 822, made use of a previous existing history for the various past events he relates of Britain, or whether he derived his account of them from various desultory sources does not appear. However, as before alluded to, the work seems to have been considered as a kind of repository of historical information, and everybody added to it what they pleased.

We now come to speak of the printed editions of this work. The first was that of Gale, in his *XV Scriptores*, folio, 1687, from the Cambridge manuscript, F. f. i, 27, with collation of manuscripts in the Cottonian Library. The next was Bertram's, at Copenhagen, 8vo, 1757, with Gildas, and Richard of Cirencester. He reprinted Gale's text. Mr. Gunn's edition follows in 1819, in 8vo, printing the Vatican manuscript of Marcus, of the 10th century, and adding most learned and intelligent notes. Mr. Stevenson again edited it in 1838, for the English Historical Society of London, with a very able and learned commentary. He printed the Harleian manuscript, 3859, and the manuscripts he collated were eighteen in number. The next edition was that of Dr. Giles, 8vo, 1841, reprinting Mr. Gunn's English translation, with the Preface, but not the notes. Dr. Giles also printed Mr. Gunn's Latin text, in his historical documents, relating to the Ancient Britons, 8vo, 1847. The Irish edition, of which we have before spoken, likewise appeared in this year 1847, 4to, Dublin, with notes by Dr. Todd and Mr. Herbert. Mr. Petrie's edition followed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, folio, 1848, printing the manuscript F. f. i, 27, of the

Cambridge University Library ; and collating 26 manuscripts in England and on the Continent. The work is executed with much ability, but was prepared some years before the appearance of the Dublin volume.

Here may follow a list of the manuscripts of Nennius, preserved in various libraries,—noting which were used by Mr. Stevenson, and by Mr. Petrie, and giving them letters of reference.

Stevenson.	Petrie.	Manuscripts of Nennius.	Century.
A	X	Harleian, 3859, fol. 135, b. . . . .	10th.
B	Y	Cottonian, Vespasian, D. xxi, 1 . . . . .	12th.
C	Z	Cottonian, Vespasian, B. xxv, 7 . . . . .	12th.
D*	H	Cottonian, Caligula, A. viii . . . . .	12th.
E*	G	Cottonian, Nero, D. viii, 2, fol. 63 . . . . .	13th.
F	A A	Cottonian, Vitellius, xiii, 11, fol. 90, b. . . . .	13th.
G*		Burney, 310, p. 315 . . . . .	14th.
H*	S	Royal Library, 13, D. v, 2, fol. 31 . . . . .	13th.
I	D	Royal Library, 13, B. vii . . . . .	16th.
Q*	U	Royal Library, 13, B. xv . . . . .	16th.
R*	I	Cottonian, Julius, D. v, 1 . . . . .	14th.
	K*	Bodleian, 16, 3, 3 . . . . .	
	F	St. John's College, Oxford, 99, 3 . . . . .	13th.
L	A	University Library, Cambridge, F. f. i, 27 . . . . .	12th.
L2*	V	University Library, Cambridge, F. f. i, 27, 3 . . . . .	13th.
	L*	University Library, Cambridge, M. m. l, 29 . . . . .	12th.
	M*	University Library, Cambridge, L. i, vi, 11 . . . . .	13th.
K	B	Corpus Christi Col., Cambridge, cxxxix, 22, 3 . . . . .	13th.
	E	Corpus Christi Col., Cambridge, C. i . . . . .	16th.
	O*	Corpus Christi Col., Cambridge, ccclxiii . . . . .	15th.
P*	W	College of Arms, Arundel Collection, xxx . . . . .	14th.
N*	C	Durham Cathedral, B. ii, 35, 6 . . . . .	12th.
	T*	Conybere, late Derring . . . . .	14th.
M		Hunterian Collection, Glasgow . . . . .	17th.
O*	N	Bibl. du Roi, Paris, Suppl. Lat. 165, 16, or 6271—1 . . . . .	12th.
	P*	Bibl. du Roi, 5232—2 . . . . .	13th.
	Q*	Bibl. du Roi, St. Victor, 567 . . . . .	12th.
	R*	Public Library, Rouen, 123 . . . . .	13th.
a.	B B	Vatican MS., as printed by Mr. Gunn . . . . .	10th.
b.		Variations in Gale, sources unknown . . . . .	

It is remarkable that Gildas, and not Nennius or Marcus, is assigned as the author of the *Historia Britonum*, in a portion of the ancient manuscripts, which have come down to our times. We have seen in a former instance that Geoffrey of

Monmouth quoted Gildas for particulars which are now only found in Nennius. (See the former, p. 169.) Henry of Huntingdon also, in his *Annals*, from the year 527 to the year 530, according to one manuscript copy of his *History*, refers to Gildas, when he cites the *Historia Britonum*. William of Malmesbury, writing his *History, De Regibus Anglorum*, in the beginning of the twelfth century, has this passage, "Ut in Gestis Britonum legitur," *i.e.* as we read in the history of the Britons: and afterwards states, that the Britons were indebted to Gildas, an historian, neither inelegant or unlearned, for whatever notice they had obtained among other nations. However, in the titles of various manuscripts, among those of which we have just been treating, we have our attention still more drawn to the subject; and the suspicion may be entertained, that as Nennius compiled from Marcus, so Marcus may have done from the still earlier work of Gildas. The manuscripts which mention the name of Gildas in their titles, or in early marginal notes, are eighteen in number, and are marked with an asterisk in the list. Of these we may cite three or four which may be most to the purpose. For instance, in the Cottonian manuscript, Nero D. viii, of the thirteenth century, there is the following commencing passage—"Incipiunt exceptiones de Libro Gildæ Sapientis quem composuit de primis habitatoribus Britanniae, et de excidio ejus;" *i.e.* here begin the extracts from the work of Gildas Sapiens, which he composed concerning the first inhabitants of Britain, and concerning its desolation.

In other manuscripts, as that of the Royal Library, H. 13, D. v. 2, the work is also ascribed, without hesitation, to Gildas. Some others adopt, more or less, a species of qualification. C. Cottonian Vespasian, D. xxv, has a marginal note, in a hand of the 16th century: "Hic liber alibi inscribitur Gildæ;" *i.e.* "This volume is elsewhere ascribed to Gildas. G. Burney, 310, has "Incipiunt Gesta Britonum a Gildâ sapiente aut Nennio composita;" *i.e.* "The Transactions of the Britons, composed by Gildas, Sapiens, or Nennius;" whilst the manuscript N. Durham, B. ii, 35, suggests a doubt which was the author, but adopts the name of Gildas in its title.

Still we may observe, that supposing Gildas were the author, it would only have the feature, like the two epic poems which we have seen have been ascribed to the name of Gildas,

of adding to the already existing intricacies of the subject. For example, this Gildas could not have been Gildas Albanus, who died, as shown at a former page, before the reign of Arthur commenced; because the history of Nennius records his acts; neither could he have been the same person as the author of the *De Excidio*, from the manifest difference of style. But, as we are reminded by the Durham manuscript of Nennius of the 12th century, that a doubt was entertained then who was the original author, we can only remark that the same doubt still continues.

#### THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHRONICLES.

It will be easily admitted, that as there are compositions which bear this title, they must merit our due attention in our present research relating to the early history of Britain.

The compositions which are styled the British Chronicles, are the Chronicle of Tysilio, of which that of Geoffrey of Monmouth is a species of amplification and embellishment;—the Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon;—and that of Matthew of Westminster. Besides these there are also other chronicles, in considerable numbers, which, although following the two first in the main, have additions relating to the early times of which we treat, from sources not now known. They are nearly all, except the said first two we have referred to, continued down to comparatively recent periods, that is, to the times when the compilers lived who wrote them; and they nearly all, except one class of them, which will be mentioned in the sequel, begin “*ab initio mundi*,” or from the beginning of the world. It is now proposed to classify and explain these ancient productions, usually so much misunderstood: that is, such parts of them as apply to early British times; and also to do the same to parts of the Saxon Chronicle, and of one or two other chronicles having a similar narrative applying to the same times. Such an examination of the ancient British Chronicles has not been made before, as their general credibility will be here closely investigated; and their various references to authentic facts. Not only, it is believed, has this not been hitherto done, but till the knowledge of ancient British history was somewhat advanced beyond its former limits, it was scarcely practicable. It is now, however, attempted, and an endeavour will be made to dispel a variety

of errors usually entertained on the subject of these ancient sources of information.

It would appear, as far as the topic admits of research, that the principal use that was made of the art of writing, in ancient nations, at the dawn of literature, was either to record annals of passing events, or to preserve the compositions of the bards, poets, or minstrels, whose effusions had become favourites with the people. It does not seem to have been so particularly employed in any country whatever in its incipient state, either for epistolary purposes, or for inscriptive memorials for the dead. These uses of the art may be regarded as belonging to a rather advanced stage of literature and civilization.

Now it will naturally strike us that annals make a very close approach to that class of literary production, or ruder species of history, which we call a chronicle; the chief difference appearing to be, that we may rather define a chronicle to be a digest or compilation of annals and other sources of information, and to make a somewhat nearer approach to regular history. Indeed we consider the chronicles to be history, as treated of by persons somewhat unskilled, and not living in the most advanced state of civilization and mental cultivation.

In this island those of the inhabitants in British or Roman-British times, who were versed in letters, whether they were priests, or whatever position they occupied among their countrymen, may readily be supposed, like the ancient Phœnicians or Chaldeans, to have had annals among themselves of passing events. We are informed by William of Malmesbury, in his *Life of Eadmer*, and by the bibliographer Pitts, from Leland, that there was formerly a large collection of documents and manuscripts at Verulam, in the ancient British language, on various subjects, sacred and profane, and many of them it appears contemporaneous with Pagan times. It is not mentioned that there were historical annals among them, but as they are stated to have been rather numerous, such probably was the case; and as we cannot imagine Verulam to have been a solitary instance, this fact seems very much to the point in question, and in this way some of the early accounts may have been transferred to the ancient chronicles; though as a considerable degree of civilization and advancement, supposed to have existed among the Britons under this view,

we shall be far from being carried back to the highest times by this hypothesis. We do not affirm that the ancient Celtic manuscripts at Verulam went back to a remote age. There are, however, other known matters of fact in the history of man in the ruder ages, which will indicate how traditions have reached us from the most distant periods, when there has been but little advance in civilization to promote the transmission.

The ancient bards supplied the medium to which we now allude. These formed part of the retinue of kings and nobles in the northern nations; or as minstrels, like Homer among the ancient Greeks, led a wandering life, and were accustomed to put the events of their own times, and of those still more ancient, into a poetical dress. Their productions, as national songs or chaunts, took a prodigious hold on the imaginations of the people, and were before them as it were both in the moments of mirth and revelry and in the hours of solitude. To this must be added oral tradition, frequently carried to some considerable extent in early nations. Genealogies, preserved in the poems of the bards, must have also very much tended to perpetuate the memory of past events, thus associated with names of renown. Historical poems, such as those we find in the Irish edition of *Nennius* (pp. 126, 220, 270), and such as those which formed the materials from which Macpherson's *Ossian* was composed, would have added to the store of materials, and that there were also prose narratives, to serve as keys to the genealogies, seems likewise most probable. It must be granted that there would be but little check to the indulgence of fiction in all such accounts. There would be no censor or revisor. As the hill fortress of the chief, or the court of the petty potentate were each, to use the expression, a world by itself, in which the attendant bards were influenced by one bias, solicitous before all other objects to extol the credit and reputation of their leader and his ancestors, they might easily go into exaggerations which would deviate widely from the truth.

In this way may have originated the earlier and ruder parts of the ancient British Chronicles, we mean the genealogies, the perversions from fact, the distorted semi-fabulous accounts from Dunwallo Molmutius, five or six centuries before Christ, to Beli Mawr, about a century before the same era. After this written narratives may have come in to the



time the Romans left in the beginning of the fifth century ; at no great distance from which period the *History* of Gildas, written about the year 546, appeared on the literary arena ; and we have seen that there is reason to think that other narratives of current events were written about the same time.

The *History* of Nennius, which we have before sufficiently adverted to, and which was first published in Ireland by Marcus the bishop, in the year 822, continued down the line of historical works, if they should be so called ; this being probably, as in the case of Gildas, only one out of many, which it may be supposed were in existence at the time.

We may, at a subsequent page, enter somewhat into the nature of the contents of the earlier parts of the British Chronicles ; we now proceed to speak of the first appearance of this class of works so denominated, at least of those which are now extant.

Soon after the time of the first appearance of the *History* of Nennius, in the beginning of the ninth century, commenced the era of Romances, which is so remarkable in the history of literature. The real romance, the fictitious narrative in prose of adventures, escapes, and imaginary exploits of various kinds, had been very rare in classic times, or indeed at any previous epoch. Poetry had always been considered before the proper vehicle for works of imagination ; now prose works of this class became extremely numerous, the epic poem and the tale in verse at the same time not ceasing. At the period just mentioned, the ninth century, the chief producers of romances were the Troubadours and others of that class ; but soon there arose a numerous host of writers, in prose and verse, as we have said, inventing interminably, and travestying every event of history, of which any record was preserved. They introduced every personage mentioned in histories, sacred and profane, into their fabulous narratives, from Aristotle and Judas Iscariot, to Arthur the British king, and Charlemagne. An excessive boldness was given to invention ; and when it happened that these narratives had for their subjects personages who were but obscurely known, it became extremely difficult to distinguish what was true from what was false, when fact and invention were so closely blended together. It is necessary to make these preliminary remarks, as our oldest British chronicle now extant, to which

we proceed to advert, though compiled from earlier documents, can only be traced back as far as this era.

#### TYSILIO'S CHRONICLE.

We may give a short account of this chronicle, under its own proper head, afterwards proceeding with the Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other British chronicles, according to our plan proposed, in which there will be some further reference to the one now under notice.

This important chronicle was written about the year 1000, and was used by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in compiling his *History* or chronicle, which was published in the year 1147; but this, his original source of information, was not printed till towards the end of the last century, when it appeared in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*. Afterwards it was edited, in a translated form, by the Rev. Peter Roberts, in the year 1811, in a quarto volume, from a transcript of the copy preserved in the *Red Book* of Hergest, formerly belonging to Margam Abbey, and now in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford. (See his Preface, p. xi.) This manuscript seems deservedly considered to have the purest text of any that can be produced.

It must not be concealed that there are some who invert the usually received idea, and instead of conceding that we possess the original document used by Geoffrey, maintain that the *Red Book* of Hergest, and all other copies adopting more or less the same text, are mere translations from the Latin of Geoffrey of Monmouth, with the omission of some of the more absurd parts. They of course, under this view, regard Geoffrey of Monmouth as the original concoctor of the work, but it furnishes itself sufficient internal evidences to repel the idea.

Take, for instance, the two names Asclepiodotus and Livius Gallus, in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, Book v, 4, which stand corresponding to the two in Tysilio of Alysgapitulus and Belysgalys. It is evident that the two last could not have been manufactured from the two former; but it may be easily conceived that Geoffrey might have latinized the two names from Tysilio, particularly as Asclepiodotus, the first of them, is found in the *History* of Eutropius, ix, 22. There might be some other similar instances produced; but what may be equally relied upon is, that there are manifest

symptoms of editorial management in various parts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's work : such as introducing fresh information, giving certain references, altering various details, and, in particular, going more eagerly into the marvellous than the original, which itself is not deficient in this respect. These circumstances are quite sufficient to convince any reasonable person ; and it may be added, that the *Red Book* of Hergest is by some considered an unique original copy of Tysilio's Chronicle from its purer text.

A very curious circumstance occurs from the late printing of the Chronicle of Tysilio, that for many centuries, even from the middle of the 12th century, when it first attracted notice, to the times of Mr. Roberts, the British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth will be found to be almost exclusively quoted, and but little reference made to the text of the other, though it was the most important document. Indeed, as the original was at first only to be met with in the recesses of Margam Abbey, Glamorganshire, and in those of Jesus College, afterwards ; and as the other manuscripts more or less approached to Geoffrey's text, and some were nearly identical with it (see Roberts's *Tysilio*, p. xii, and other authorities), it can be no wonder that the custom became nearly universal of referring to the most accessible work ; but now, since the publication of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, and of Mr. Roberts's edition, the state of the case is entirely reversed ; Tysilio is almost constantly quoted, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's compilation but rarely.

The date of the Chronicle of Tysilio cannot be earlier than that we have before assigned to it, *i. e.* that of the year 1000 ; since the state of Britain is alluded to in it as late as the reign of Athelstan, who died in the year 940. Besides, the state and condition of Britain there referred to, are spoken of with a kind of historical retrospect, which may justify us in inferring that a lapse of 50 or 60 years had taken place subsequently ; and which will bring us down to the year 1000, which has been selected.

Further, also, it evidently appears from the poetical and romantic turn given to many parts of this composition, that it was written after the revival of poetry by the troubadours, and when the passion for romance was becoming general. These particulars much confirm the date we have now assigned. It is, therefore, difficult to see how Mr. Roberts, in his edition

of *Tysilio*, p. 215, could be justified, in defiance of chronological data and internal evidence, in regarding that it was most probably the lost History of Gildas, whose era was several centuries before.

But it may be said, that we thus entirely subvert the idea very commonly entertained, that the work was the production of Tysilio, son of Brochwael, Prince of Powis, who flourished in the seventh century. This must be conceded; but as a Tysilio is mentioned in the *Red Book* of Hergest as the author, it probably was written by some person of the same name who lived at a later date; unless the mention of this name has altogether erroneously crept in, from the circumstance of Tysilio ap Brochwael having been the author of an ecclesiastical history, parts of which were extant in Rowland's time. (See the *Mona Antiqua*, 4to, 1723, p. 154.)

There are several manuscripts of Tysilio extant, which exhibit a certain amount of various readings; which circumstance may, perhaps, be considered proof that the manuscript in Jesus College is not actually the sole ancient copy extant.

It is not necessary to speak in this place of the contents of this chronicle, which will come in more properly elsewhere; since Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle, being professedly compiled from it, the contents of the two may be better treated of together. The long list of other chronicles, of which we have before spoken are compiled, almost without exception, from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and only indirectly from Tysilio through the work of the former.

#### GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S CHRONICLE, AND OTHER CHRONICLES.

Geoffrey ap Arthur, usually called Geoffrey of Monmouth, was an important person in ancient British literature; nevertheless but little seems ascertained respecting him. The best account of him is that given by Caradoc of Lancarvan, his contemporary, as preserved in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, vol. ii, p. 566; *i.e.* that he was nephew of Uchtryd, Bishop of Landaff, and was himself appointed bishop of that place in 1152, and died the same year. From other sources it appears that Robert of Caen, Earl of Gloucester and son of Henry the Second, was his patron, under whose sovereignty indeed, of Gwent and Glamorgan, Geoffrey of Monmouth lived. These particulars, though

few, are much to the purpose, as Geoffrey of Monmouth is very commonly confused with another Geoffrey ap Arthur, who was appointed bishop of St. Asaph, not of Landaff, in 1152, made abbot of the monastery of Abingdon in 1165, and died 1175, who was quite a different person. The mistake, however, as will be seen by a reference to many authors, is very general; and on this misapprehension the supposed competition recorded by David Powel (see his Preface to his edition of *Ponticus Virunnius*, 12mo, 1585) between William of Newburgh and Geoffrey of Monmouth, for the see of St. Asaph, in 1165, is founded.

The manner in which the British History or Chronicle was published, was as follows:—At some period before the year 1147, Geoffrey of Monmouth became possessed of an ancient British Chronicle brought to him from Britany, which, if not the same as the Chronicle of Tysilio, preserved in Jesus College, appears to have been in all probability a varying copy of it. Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford, by some supposed to be the same person as Walter de Mapes the poet, which is somewhat uncertain, brought it over. However, Geoffrey of Monmouth determined upon publishing it, and a copy of Merlin's Prophecies coming also into his hands, he published both. He took a most unwise course, we may be justified in saying, latinizing the names, making various additions and embellishments of his own, and uniting Merlin's Prophecy to his volume, which is to be regarded as having formed no part of the original. Having done this, and loaded the narrative already disguised by extravagant legends, with many additional fictions, he strongly protests its truth. He had requested his patron, the Earl of Gloucester, he informs us in his poem, Book I, c. i, to correct it, but whether he did, does not appear.

The dedication to the Earl of Gloucester gives some short remarks of Geoffrey of Monmouth himself on the Chronicle, and how a copy of it came into his hands. One manuscript, however, in the Library at Berne, in Switzerland, has the peculiarity of being dedicated not to the Earl of Gloucester, but to King Stephen. (See *Appendix A to Mr. Cooper's Report on Rymer's Fœdera*, p. 33.)

But though Geoffrey of Monmouth gave his History as much as possible the shape and guise of a romance, yet, unlike romance writers, he published it not in the vernacular tongue,

but in Latin ; nor are English translations of it to be met with till late times ; it seems, however, to have received great attention ; and by some was admired, and by others reviled.

It was evidently thought to form a good subject for verse. Almost immediately after it was published, the Earl of Gloucester having transmitted a copy, as we are informed, it came through Raoul Fitzgilbert into the hands of Geoffrey Gaimar, the Anglo-Norman poet, who translated parts of it in his *Estorie des Engles*, published in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, fol. 1848. Wace also somewhat paraphrased it, and translated it, with some additions, into Anglo-Norman verse, in the year 1155, as did Pierre Langtoft afterwards into French verse. Layamon, an ecclesiastic of an uncertain date, but believed by some to have written about the year 1190, translated Wace's version in metre into the English tongue of his day, a species of transition Saxon, which version is considered a valuable specimen of the language of that date, illustrating the origin of the present dialect of English now in use, and has been lately published by the Society of Antiquaries, under the able editorship of Sir F. Madden, 3 vols. 8vo. Layamon contains many additions which are not in Wace, but which probably are mostly to be found in some one or other of the British Chronicles. In later times John Harding, following Geoffrey of Monmouth, translated his chronicle into English verse, and continued it down to the reign of Edward the Fourth. Add to this, there is an imperfect epic poem, in hexameters, in the Cottonian Library, British Museum, Julius D. xi, which has been before mentioned, (see p. 169,) and which is ascribed to Gildas by its title in a handwriting of the sixteenth century. This seems to have much the same narrative as Geoffrey of Monmouth in many places : has one of his peculiarities,—the 28 Flamens and three Arch-Flamens of Ancient Britain,—and is, with far greater probability, an early metrical version of his British History, than a work of Gildas.

Incidentally it may be noticed, that these early poetical versions afford some allusions illustrative of the work. Gaimar says of it (see *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 829)—

“ Robert li quens de Gloucestre  
Fit translater icele geste  
Solum les liveres es Waleis  
K'ils avoient des Bretons reis.”

That is,—Robert, Earl of Gloucester, caused this history to be translated according to the books of the Welch, which they had, relating to the British kings. The same author also says of it (*ibid.*)—

“ Le bon livre d’Oxenford  
Ki fust Walter l’arcidiaen.”

Calling it the book of Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford. These extracts have interest and weight, as being concurrent with received accounts.

Of translations in prose in the vernacular tongue, either Anglo-Norman, old English, or modern English, none have been made before that of Aaron Thompson, 8vo, 1718, and none since; Dr. Giles having merely reprinted that translation revised, in his edition, London, 8vo, 1842, and again reprinted it in his later edition in Bohn’s *Antiquarian Library*, London, 12mo, 1848.

We have now introduced the work of Geoffrey to the reader, adverted to its time of first publication, and directed attention to its general romantic and poetical cast; we may accordingly continue our examinations, endeavouring to pay all due attention to the order and arrangement which this diffuse subject especially requires. Our attention will thus be directed to certain prominent points; such as the doubts raised as to the genuineness of the work, by William of Newburgh, as also the objections of others; the Armorican origin of Tysilio’s *Chronicle*; a short view of the chronicles succeeding the two first, and in some respects formed from them; Tysilio’s object, the composer of the primary and original chronicle; the contents generally of the chronicles; and, lastly, the Anglo-Saxon chronicle and those of Scotland and Ireland.

WILLIAM of NEWBURGH.—This person was so named from the monastery of Newburgh or Newborough, in Yorkshire, of which he was a monk; and he himself publishing an historical account of England, made some rather severe remarks on the History or Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He wrote towards the end of the reign of Richard the First, about the year 1195, and the criticism which is contained in the Preface of his work, in a translated form, is as follows:

“ A certain writer, who has started up in our days, has devised strange and ridiculous stories concerning the Britons; and with unparelled impudence has extolled them far above the brave Greeks and Romans. His name is Geoffrey, to

which he has added that of Arthur, because he has published, under the honourable name of a History, the fable of King Arthur, collected from the ancient fictions of the Britons, with some additions of his own, which he has disguised by giving them in Latin. The same person has, with still greater assurance, published, as authentic prophecies, the fallacious predictions of one Merlin, pretending to ground them on facts, in rendering which into Latin he has added much of his own. And in that book of his, which he falsely calls the History of Britain, his assurance and forgeries are so very obvious to every reader in the least acquainted with ancient history, that there is no occasion to descend to particulars. But this whole mass of fables is greedily swallowed down by those who are unacquainted with the truth; including the great exploits done by the Britons before the arrival of Cæsar, which he either devised himself, or has handed down the fabulous inventions of others as authentic."

The above remarks of William of Newburgh are written with great spirit and vigour for the times; intended evidently to check the credit which then it seems was unreservedly given by many to matters, for the most part, merely traditional and uncertain, and which had not been declared to be such by the author, but had been given in a shape seemingly authentic. It is highly to be regretted that Geoffrey of Monmouth was deceased at the time of publishing William of Newburgh's Chronicle, as he might have been able to give sufficient explanation, and thus rendered unnecessary much subsequent controversy. As it is, William of Newburgh's imputations amount to no more than this: (1) that Geoffrey had not separated the true from the false in the history of the British king Arthur; (2) that he committed himself in republishing the absurd prophecies of Merlin; and (3) that the exploits ascribed to the Britons before the coming of Cæsar were either invented by himself, or were fabulous accounts, handed down. He does not say that he did not make use of Armorican chronicles, or prior existing accounts of some kind; but he censures him either for a want of judgment, in using such materials as true, or for a want of good faith in adding inventions of his own.

Such are the remarks of William of Newburgh. As far as Geoffrey of Monmouth is concerned, few will think that the charge of invention amounts to more than an imputation of



errors of judgment : as far as the chronicle is concerned, they merely express an opinion that much in it is absolutely false, and much of it highly to be distrusted; which indeed no one doubts.

William of Newburgh must have been aware that such a person as king Arthur had existed, as he is mentioned by his namesake William of Malmesbury, in his History *De Regibus Angliæ*, which came forth in the year 1143, four years before the publication of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Chronicle*; therefore he merely means to reject the fabulous part of his history, and not to deny the rest. This argument of course supposes the usually received date of 1147, for the publication of the *Chronicle* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which, however, is somewhat gainsaid in vol. xii of the *Archæologia*, p. 56, as we may presently advert to in our notice of the *History* of Henry of Huntingdon.

This passage in William of Newburgh seems to have produced a great effect in ancient times; hence some remarks, bearing on the points in question, appear to have been feigned, and put into the mouth, as it were, of Geoffrey of Monmouth. They are found at the conclusion of one or more copies of his *Chronicle*. The doubt of the authenticity of the remarks of course arises from William of Newburgh having written so long after his death; but Geoffrey of Monmouth may have penned the remarks in answer to similar criticisms made at the time of the publication of the *Historia Britonum*; under which view we cannot entirely reject the passage. They occur thus at the end of the manuscript, No. 2304, of Bernard's *Catalogue*, fol. 1697, in the public library of Cambridge, and are expressed thus: "Reges vero Saxonum Gulielmo Malmesburiensi et H. Huntingdoniensi permitto, quos de regibus Britonum tacere jubeo, cum non habeant librum illius Britannici sermonis quem Gualterus Oxenfordensis Archidiaconus ex Britannia (Minore) advexit; quem de historia eorum veraciter editum in honorem prædictorum principum hoc modo in Latinum transferre curavi." That is, I leave the kings of the Saxons to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, to whom I enjoin silence in respect to the kings of the Britons, as they have not that book of the British account of them which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, brought from Britany; and which book I now, to the honour of the said British princes, have truthfully translated into Latin.

**OTHER OBJECTORS.**—Giraldus Cambrensis closely follows William of Newburgh in some incidental criticisms; but he is not very severe, as we shall show. There are no animadversions in the works of authors of note, for a century or two, when John of Withamstead comes on, in the reign of Henry the Sixth. The others who disapproved of the work, more or less, were John White of Basingstoke, Twine, Polydore Vergil, Buchanan, and Camden, besides, indeed, many others; but these we may principally notice, being usually more particularly mentioned as disowning the history; and we may make an incidental remark on the testimony of some of them.

Regarding the first of these, Giraldus Cambrensis, it is rather singular that though setting aside and disallowing in general terms Geoffrey and his work, yet he appears to have adopted his history in several parts. Thus he says, in his *Cambriæ Descriptio*, c. vii. "Dicta est autem Cambria a duce Cambro, Bruti filio;" *i.e.* it is called Cambria from the leader Camber, the son of Brutus. Again, c. i, he says, that Cornwall received its name from Corinæus. These two instances fully show that, notwithstanding his censures, he adopted the substance of Geoffrey's *History*, in which the fabulous personages, or reputed fabulous personages, Brutus and Corinæus, are principal actors.

John of Withamstead, as is represented, confined his disapprobation to the disbelief of the fictitious character Brutus. In his *Granarium*, a work so entitled, speaking of this subject, he expresses himself to this effect: "According to other authors, which in the judgment of some deserve more credit this whole matter concerning Brutus is rather poetical than historical; and for many causes seems to be founded in fancy rather than in any reality."

Regarding Buchanan, his testimony is very worthy of notice. In his *Historia Rerum Scotticarum*, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1643, p. 9, he first of all somewhat praises Geoffrey of Monmouth, mentioning him together with William of Malmesbury, and calling him one of the distinguished writers of British affairs. At several subsequent pages, *i.e.*, from p. 43 to p. 50, he severely lashes the class of figments with which the *British History* of Geoffrey of Monmouth abounds; incidentally remarking, p. 43, that writers of these absurdities are in consequence not believed, even in cases where they speak truth. It is evident that he believed in the existence of Brutus no

more than John of Withamstead. But what is singular, he does not appear to have had a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Chronicle* before him, as he refers throughout to the chronicle called the *Chronicle of Dunstable*, which varies much from that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and which might probably have had a different origin. The reader will find this *Chronicle* again mentioned at a subsequent page; and that he does refer to it is evident, because he has an allusion to the beginning of it, by which this chronicle is known: "In the noble land of Syria," etc. He does not even mention the name of Geoffrey of Monmouth, except at his page 9, but speaks generally of the concoctors of these fables. We may here note incidentally, that he did not repudiate all ancient chronicles: as he makes great use of the Scotch chronicles in his work.

Not to multiply further references, we may note that the opinions of John Twine, Polydore Vergil, and Camden, were very unfavourable to the *Historia Britonum*, and that the authority of the last two, has mainly prevented facts from this chronicle being admitted, even in cases where no adverse testimony exists.

SOME EXPLANATIONS.—Whilst the *Chronicle* or History of Geoffrey of Monmouth has thus been attacked, many have not been idle in defending it. It might not be easy to enumerate all those who have stood forward in this way. We may mention the names, however, of Sir John Price, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, in answer to Polydore Vergil; of Leland, in the same reign; of David Powel, in the reign of Elizabeth; of Whitaker, about 75 years since; and of Roberts, in the last half century;—these, of course, being only a few among many. The question of defence, we may remark, entirely resolves itself into two points:—(1) How much to give up, and how much to retain; and, (2) To explain certain difficulties and obscurities, some of which, indeed most, are of that nature usually concomitant in the perusal of ancient works. Here we may say at once, that a defence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History, or of Tysilio's *Chronicle* which we now consider in connection with it, as they have one and the same basis, is entirely out of our province; and no more is intended than to supply such illustration as may be afforded by casual remarks. Indeed, the necessity of explanation as to many points, is obviated by the notes in Mr. Roberts's

edition, which clear away various difficulties, and would have done more so, had the author more fully comprehended the real nature of the work of which he treats. Mr. Roberts gives credence to the Trojan part of the story in Tysilio's narrative; it is easy then to see how much this circumstance necessarily takes away from the value of his illustrations and comments.

One difficulty Mr. Roberts very successfully clears away from the two Chronicles—(see his page 174)—the alleged invasion of Africans under Gurmund from France; showing that there was a district on the opposite continent, called Mortagne, and in Latin Mauritania, which might easily have given rise to the mistake. He traces these invaders to have come from the north, and not from the south; and with such explanation it may be readily conceived, that a roving band of adventurers of those days may have taken their departure from this district in Gaul for Britain, and so given rise to what appeared an extravagant fiction, till the real detail was unfolded.

Mr. Roberts's explanation of Gunwas and Melwas, for Huns and Alans, is hardly deserving of less attention, (see his pages 101, 359, and 362,) though it may not be entirely satisfactory.

In this way much can be shown consistent with historical fact in many parts of Tysilio and in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, to which the greater part of the former is transferred; but the main explanation, after all, may be comprised in a short remark we will now make. Tysilio's *Chronicle*, which we can in nowise entirely set aside, because it gives us some glimmerings of information in various epochs, in which there is no other guidance, is based partly on distorted and apocryphal histories, and partly on romance; and in Geoffrey of Monmouth's compilation, a still greater quantity of this last ingredient is added. Many parts of the *Chronicle* are probably as truly related, as could be ascertained from the imperfect histories of the times, or from extant traditions, and we here and there obtain a species of confirmation from some more authentic source. We can only take them as we find them; and bearing the remark which has just been made in mind, it is easy to discern in what parts mere romance comes in, and when there is not even an attempt at a veracious narrative. Such is the Trojan detail, much of Arthur's adventures, and, indeed, a very great portion of both works.

In Geoffrey of Monmouth the names have Latin terminations: these, and errors of transcriptions, have much disguised them; but, divested of their Latin endings, and their proper orthography being restored, they are found to be perfectly Celtic. A series of Celtic names will appear towards the end of these observations, taken from various chronicles; some in a correct state, others in a Latinized form; others, again, as incorrectly transcribed from one manuscript to another. This last particular may not have been solely attributable to negligence, manuscripts being occasionally much defaced and in a very illegible state when copied. In these cases the transcribers, frequently uninformed persons, are to be concluded to have done their best; but when we find transcriptions so wide of the truth, as Tormace for Teneuvan, and Westmer for Guiderius, which, indeed, though not found in Tysilio or Geoffrey of Monmouth, occurs in the *Chronicle of Dunstable*, conjecture there seems to have become closely allied with invention.

Evidence of coins shows, that the Welch have modernized the names of several of the British kings. Thus Cunobeline should not be Cynvelin, as Mr. Roberts supposes, in his Preface; nor Caractacus Caradog, but Keratik, or Caeratik. The British inscribed coinage is only extended over about three quarters of a century, or in all probability it would afford us further verifications of the same kind.

ARMORICAN MANUSCRIPT.—As we are now upon the topic of resolving various doubts connected with the Chronicles of Tysilio and Geoffrey of Monmouth, it may not be entirely out of place to advert to the supposed circumstance of the copy published of this history or chronicle having been received from Armorica. Some appear to entertain a doubt that Geoffrey of Monmouth really says so; others, again, think it said by way of a blind to conceal the fraud of a pretended discovery of the manuscripts. Regarding the first point, Geoffrey of Monmouth's words are, according to the episode to his work, which is found in some manuscript copies, "the book in the British tongue, which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Britany;"—*Britannia* in the original. *Britannia*, it is alleged, is always used in the sense of *Britannia Major* in the chronicle, and not of *Armorica*. The name of *Britannia* had, however, ceased in the time of Geoffrey, and was succeeded by that of *Anglia*; we may, therefore, rather presume that this writer, using his own language, and not

that of the chronicle, intended Armorica in the then usual acceptation of the word; and, accordingly, we may let the usual acceptation of the passage remain, which there is every reason to believe will generally be considered most satisfactory.

Admitting, therefore, this, next as to whether it is incredible that a British chronicle, supposed not extant in England, should have been preserved in Armorica. On this point it may be observed, that whether the chronicle might have been non-extant or otherwise in this country, there might be a great presumption of such compilations finding their way to Armorica from the constant communication which subsisted between this island and the continent, and from the numbers of Britons who at different times retired thither. No manuscript copy, indeed, of Tysilio's *Chronicle* is believed to exist there now; but there is sufficient evidence that chronicles were somewhat numerous in that quarter. The French Record Commission makes us acquainted that the *Prophecies of Guinclan*, written in the fifth century, were extant in the Abbey of Landevenec in 1701, and have lately been re-discovered. Two Chronicles of Britany,—one, *The Brief Chronicle of the Armorican British Kings*, the other, *The Genealogy of the Princes of Dumnonia*, by Ingomar, were both examined by the French historian Lebault, about a century and a half ago, but are now not to be found. It does not appear, therefore, that Geoffrey's original being said to have been obtained from Britany, can in any way prejudice such claims of genuineness as it may be supposed to have.

SERIES OF OTHER CHRONICLES.—Our attention must now be directed to take a survey of numerous other chronicles, the greater proportion of which were certainly compiled from the *Historia Britonum* of Tysilio, or from the edition of the same work by Geoffrey of Monmouth, though some, there is every reason to believe, had a distinct origin. When this muster roll of the Chronicles shall have been set forth, we shall be better able to refer to their contents generally or separately; and as the compilations of which we now treat are continued down to advanced dates of the middle ages, it will, of course, be understood that our remarks only apply to such parts of them as refer to British times.

BEDE'S HISTORY AND CHRONICLE.—Before treating of the compositions which are more properly termed Chronicles, a

passing observation may be required relative to the historian Bede, whose earlier or British part is much of the nature of a chronicle, though the author is a writer of ecclesiastical history. It is, therefore, a remarkable feature in Bede, however, perhaps, only a natural one, that he takes no notice of the earliest times of the Britons, but having given a general description of the island, and of Ireland, and propounded some ethnological theories as to the origin of the inhabitants, he begins with the invasion of Julius Cæsar. His intention, indeed, having been to compose an ecclesiastical history, he was not, strictly speaking, bound to collect the earlier accounts of the island applying to pagan times, which might have been thought superfluous; but he began with the Romans, as Christianity was first introduced into this country in the times of the Roman sway. His *History*, therefore, is no proof whatever of the non-existence of documents at the time he wrote relating to the earlier Britons; and had Geoffrey of Monmouth considered this, he might have suppressed the surprise which he testifies in his *Exordium*, that neither Gildas (in his *De Excidio*) nor Bede, had given an account of the ancient British kings. It was not, indeed, within the scope of either, as Gildas, like Bede, merely required certain periods of history for his purpose. However, to particularize Bede's sources, we may note, that, with the exception of some Roman classics, they appear to have been ecclesiastical. Thus we have in his work materials derived from Orosius and Gildas, and from narratives of the mission of St. Germanus, and of the martyrdom of St. Alban; and we have grounds for believing that he had but few other sources for his British History.

Regarding that other work of Bede's, more properly styled his *Chronicle*, and also called his Treatise *De sex Aetatibus Mundi*, it may be observed, that he seems to follow the tenor of the history of Orosius, and has but little concerning Britain. It is written, indeed, in the form of a general chronicle of the whole world.

MARIANUS SCOTUS.—We may likewise mention at this place the *Chronicle* of Marianus Scotus. It is a chronicle, like Bede's, of the whole world, with some portion of its contents applying to Britain and Ireland. The author was an Irishman, and a monk at one time of the Irish monastery of St. Martin, at Cologne. He died at Mentz, about the year 1082.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON.—We may place at the head of the

list of all chronicles more immediately applying to this island, the *History* or *Chronicle* of Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon. It begins, "ab initio mundi" or from the beginning of the world, and continues down to the year 1154; and, from its contents, it has considerable value of its kind, as frequently affording information relating to transactions in Ancient Britain, which is not to be found elsewhere. It has been shown, at the preceding page 68, that the author must have had a fuller copy of the earlier part of the Saxon Chronicle than we now possess, and that he probably may have had some, if not all, of the three ancient works mentioned by Gaimar in his episode. Regarding his contents: though alluding to the Trojan descent in his preamble he omits the British kings before Cæsar's invasion, for which we shall see his own reason presently. As to that invasion, he is rather circumstantial in his account; as also he is in his narrative of British transactions in the fifth and sixth centuries. Of the events of these two centuries, he gives somewhat of a sketch in a very good style, while other writers are silent.

The author of the Introduction to the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 90, supposes him to have amplified upon his authorities; judging, it may be inferred, from a comparison of various of his passages with others in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle bearing on the same facts. References, however, will show, that in numerous instances his narrative contains not only a series of incidents and circumstantial details, not in the parallel passages in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but also many proper names. Amplifying, therefore, in the way he means, is out of the question, and our assertion that he had a fuller text before him seems far more strongly supported. Mr. Petrie also supposes, in the same work, p. 696, that he invented the speeches, in describing the battles between the Britons and Cæsar; there is no necessity, however, for this idea, as he might have found them in the Latin accounts from which he compiled.

The whole of the works of Henry of Huntingdon are, 1. His *History*, of which we now treat; 2. *De Miraculis Angliæ*, 3. *De Serie Regum potentissimorum*; and, 4. the *De Origine Regum Britanorum*, which is printed in the work of De Torigny or Delmonte. The others, with the exception of the first, still remain in manuscript.

With the work *De Origine*, some rather noticeable par-



ticulars are connected. We are told in the *Archæologia*, vol. xii, p. 56, that when Henry of Huntingdon was on his journey to Rome, in 1139, with Archbishop Theobald, a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History* was first put into his hands at the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, being one of the books belonging to the library there, which he abridged under the same title, addressing it to his friend Varinus Brito. Now, we find in the life of Archbishop Theobald, that he went twice to Rome after he was consecrated Archbishop. There may, therefore, possibly be some mistake in the statement in the *Archæologia*; otherwise the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth must have been published earlier than usually supposed. However this may be, the preamble and conclusion of this abridgment give some curious information relating to his own History of the Britons, which commences his principal work. His words are "Quæris a me Varine Brito vir comis et facete cur patriæ nostræ gesta narrans a temporibus Julii Cæsaris inciperim; et florentissima regna quæ a Bruto usque ad tempora Julii fuerint omiserim. Respondeo igitur tibi quæ nec voce nec scripto horum temporum notitiam sæpissime quærens invenire potui. Tanta perniciēs oblivionis mortalium gloriam successu diversitatis obumbrat et extinguit. Hoc tamen anno cum Romam proficerer apud Beccensium abbatiam scripta rerum prædictarum stupens inveni. Quarum excerpta, ut in epistolâ decet brevissime tibi dilectissime mitto; *i.e.* You seek from me, Varinus Brito, kind and facetious man, why in relating the events of our country, I began from the times of Julius Cæsar, and omitted the most flourishing kingdoms which were established from Brutus to the time of Julius. I, therefore, reply that I was unable to obtain information of these times, though I very frequently made inquiries by word of mouth and writing: so great an oblivion a new order of things sheds over the glory of mortals. But at length, when I went this year to Rome, astonished I found a written account of these things at the Abbey of Bec; and send you extracts from it, my best beloved, though in a very short form, as indeed is required in a letter." In the conclusion of his *De Origine*, he further says, "Hæc sunt quæ tibi brevibus promisi quorum si prolixitatem desideras librum grandem Galfridi Arthuri quem ad Beccum inveni quæras, ubi prædicta diligenter et prolixè tractata videbitis. Vale;" *i.e.* This is what I promised in my letters, which, if you desire to have at length,

you must seek for in the great book of Geoffrey the son of Arthur, which I found at Bec, where you will see the foregoing set forth, duly arranged ; and at length. Farewell.”—From the manuscript in the Royal Library, British Museum, 13. C. ii.

The conclusion to be formed from these passages in the *De Origine*, compared with those in the episode of Gaimar, is, that there were certain historical works to be obtained in those days, some of which, not having been transcribed for sale in the book market, were extremely rare, and only to be procured with difficulty, and were at that time on the eve of disappearance. Indeed two of the three mentioned by Gaimar are not now extant. Following out this chain of reasoning, we may easily believe that other copies of Tysilio might at that time have been in existence besides the copy obtained by Geoffrey of Monmouth ; also, besides the works mentioned by Gaimar, detached documents and memoranda relating to Ancient British affairs.

There is still another remark which we may offer on this topic, namely, that our observations last made may very evidently show whence the various chronicle writers obtained the numerous additions to their original source, Geoffrey of Monmouth, or, rather, to their original source, Tysilio, through the work of the former. The compilers of the Chronicles were scattered through the kingdom, from the Isle of Man to Dover, and from Caledonia to Winchester. It is clear then that their local position must have been favourable for collecting any remnants of the past, or fragments of historical accounts which might exist.

MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER.—The next chronicle for notice under every point of view, is certainly that of Matthew of Westminster. It is deserving of the next place, both from the variety and extent of its contents, and the circumstance of the dates affixed to events after our Saviour's incarnation. The arrangement of British transactions in this chronicle seems to show great study ; though assent possibly may be frequently refused. The dates would be very useful, but the known incorrectness of some of them appears to intimate that they were taken from corrupt sources, or merely conjectured. However this may be, Matthew of Westminster, if indeed we may call him the author, affords much valuable information, as his account of Vortimer's battles shows. He is likewise fuller, in some other respects, than his brother chroniclers.

For instance, the battle of Mercredesburne may be mentioned, in which he alone informs us, that the Britons were commanded by Aurelius Ambrosius, besides giving a somewhat different version of the result from Henry of Huntingdon. According to Mr. Petrie, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 7, there are but very slight grounds for attributing this chronicle to a person named Matthew of Westminster. He considers the name of the author uncertain. This chronicle, it may be observed, begins "ab initio mundi" and ends in the year 1307.

GERVAISE OF TILBURY is entitled to the next consideration. He lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Mr. Roberts, in his editions of *Tysilio's Chronicle*, p. 226, considers it probable he had never seen Geoffrey of Monmouth's work, grounding his assertion on many very noticeable differences of orthography, and on the additions of many circumstances usually omitted in that and other chronicles. The chronicle, at any rate, seems a variety in this class of compositions well worthy notice. Mr. Roberts has printed it entire in his appendix, pp. 227—244.

RADULPHUS DE DICETO is sometimes spoken of as having claims to originality; but he seems to vary but little from Geoffrey of Monmouth. His work, applying to our present purpose, is his *Historia Compendiosa de Regibus Britonum*. His chronicle, so called, only begins with the year 589.

JOHN SPROT.—His chronicle is an abridgment of that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and of but little value as relating to British affairs: it has been edited by Hearne.

It may here be mentioned, that there are several other chronicles, nearly the same in their early part as Tysilio's and Geoffrey's; as that of ROGER DE WENDOVER; that called the CHRONICLE OF DOVER, part of which is in Leland's *Collectanea*, etc., etc. These will generally be found to contain no new points relating to British affairs, an account of which is inserted in them, apparently, to form an introduction to ensuing events. Their subsequent portions extending later than, properly speaking, British times, may contain passages of greater import and use.

THOMAS RUDBORNE.—His *Chronicle or History of Winchester Church* ending in the year 1138, appears to have original matter relating to the transactions between the Britons and Saxons not elsewhere to be found; though to a somewhat limited extent. His Chronicle is printed in Wharton's *Anglia*

*Sacra*, fol. 1691, vol. i. p. 177, and some parts of it in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i, p. 420.

**CHRONICLE OF DUNSTABLE.**—This presents itself as a chronicle, having a few peculiarities distinct from those of the *Chronicle* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which we may introduce with a remark or two. It has been mentioned, that there is no early prose translation into English of Geoffrey's *Chronicle*, or that of Tysilio, and that there was none made from 1147 down to 1718,—the date of the translation made by Thomson. It is plain, therefore, that it at no time became a vernacular history. Another chronicle, however, at length came into use, and supplied the current history of the times. The proper name of this is the *Chronicle of Dunstable*; but is generally called the *English Chronicle* from its later contents. Copies of this are still very abundant in public, and even private, libraries. They have generally red letter headings to each chapter, and are written out in good style, and with great regularity, as if they were produced for sale in large quantities. This chronicle may be known from its usual beginning—"In the noble land of Syria;" and the mention that follows of "Dyodycias, the king of great renown," as he is called, though there is frequently some variation in the words. Whether the whole is a compilation from Geoffrey of Monmouth, or taken from a separate original, does not seem quite certain; many of the names much vary, as also does the subject matter. On the invention of printing, copies of this, or copies much approximating to the text of this work, were perpetuated by Caxton and others, under the title of CAXTON'S CHRONICLE, FRUCTUS TEMPORIS, etc. Manuscript copies of the *Chronicle of Dunstable*, or *Chronicle of England*, may possibly be found as early as the thirteenth century, and it was continued down lower from time to time. Thus we have it to the reign of Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Edward the Fourth, Henry the Sixth, and so forth.

We now come to compilations, more strictly speaking, of one chronicle from others; often from as many as apparently the author could procure to consult.

**RANULPH HIGDEN.**—The earliest of these somewhat elaborately composite performances appears to be the work styled the *Polychronicon* of this writer, published about the year 1450, which has some variations and additions worth notice.

**JOHN ROUSE.**—His chronicle is another such composition

continued to the end of the reign of Richard the Third. He compiled from Alfred of Beverley, Higden, Harding, Henry of Huntingdon, and others. Besides, he tells us in his p. 54, that he travelled about in search of documents; but the new information he sought seems to have been as to the founding of cities and towns, in which way he appears exclusively to record some particulars. This chronicle, which is extremely low, both in style and composition, was printed by Hearne in 1715, and again in 1745.

ROBERT FABIAN.—His chronicle, entitled the *Concordance of Histories*, appeared in 1519. He has some additions; and quotes his authorities in some instances, which is generally omitted in other chronicles.

We may arrange the subsequent chronicles together, though after Fabian they scarcely bring forward new information, whether legendary or otherwise. They will be then as follows: JOHN RASTALL's, illustrated with woodcuts, and entitled *Pastime for the People*, appeared in 1529; RICHARD GRAFTON's was published in 1569; RAPHAEL HOLLINGSHEAD's, the most comprehensive of all the chronicles, in 1577; JOHN STOWE's in 1600; and SIR RICHARD BAKER's in the reign of Charles the First. Here an interval occurred in this species of publication for above a century, when JOSEPH STRUTT, an engraver, attempted to revive it in the reign of George the Third. In pursuance of this, he prepared a History of England, in the form of a chronicle, but gave it up after publishing the first two volumes, which were thin quartos, and appeared in 1777. They were embellished with plans and engravings, and the experiment has not been since repeated.

Besides the above there are very numerous other chronicles remaining in manuscript in various libraries, whose contents and sources of compilation appear to be but little known; for instance, the mention of many may be found in Usher's *Primordia*, and the same in other writers. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and one or two others which follow its narrative, we may reserve for the conclusion of this chapter, at which place we may briefly speak of them, and give a list of most of the printed editions of the chronicles.

BRITISH CHRONICLES, THEIR LEADING CONTENTS.—To enable a correct idea to be formed on this head is by no means so onerous a task as it might at first appear; since, multifarious as these compositions may be, they for the most part are

reducible into the same predominating topics, the variations chiefly consisting in additional incidents and details. The tone of all the chronicles seems to have been taken from the primary one of Tysilio, though perhaps in every case through that of Geoffrey of Monmouth. This feature may make it both explanatory and useful, to treat a little definitely on this subject ; we may therefore offer the following elucidations.

HISTORICAL PURPOSE OF TYSILIO'S CHRONICLE.—We may state this to have been as follows ; (1) To throw all recollection of the once formerly prevailing paganism of the ancient Britons into the background ; (2) To connect them, the Britons, with the Romans as much as could be done ; and also to make their history read as like that of other European nations, as was practicable ; (3) To gratify otherwise national vanity ; and, (4) To draw up a narrative in accordance with the romantic spirit of the age. The contents of the Chronicle may be appealed to, to support these views ; and, as we have just remarked, all the others take their tone from the first two ; but whether undesignedly or not in some of them it may perhaps be not quite certain.

We may first, then, before giving the contents of the Chronicles, refer to those particulars which more especially maintain the views just advanced of the object of Tysilio, the author of the primary *Chronicle* ; afterwards passing on to the line of kings and other matters.

We may first remark on the complexion given to transactions between the Britons and Romans, that the national vanity seems to have been considered and gratified in representing them as beaten and put to flight, when opposed to the Britons united, and afterwards as conquerors only, through their domestic dissensions. However, his account seems to infer that the subjection of the island was complete from the time of Cæsar's invasion, from the circumstance that the Britons paid tribute, though the Romans did not again enter its limits for nearly a century. Of the actual conquest of Britain, or a considerable part of it, by the emperor Claudius, he seems to speak more lightly than the subject might be thought to deserve. He merely expresses himself as if the Roman emperor had done no more than to renew his power over a province which had revolted ; though, again, he would feign that the person whom he styles Arviragus, and represents as the son of Cunobeline, and commander-in-chief of the

Britons, was not so much conquered, as that he compromised the contest by an alliance with the emperor's daughter Genuissa, and that thus the foreign sway was confirmed. According to him, this domination was by no means uncongenial or displeasing to the inhabitants of the island, or their rulers. He supposes in his narrative a succession of British kings as complete, as if the Romans had not entered the country, with the exception of one break of about a hundred years; and these kings are described all of them to have had the Roman interest at heart, and to have been anxious to perpetuate it. He hardly supposes the presence of the Roman legions in the island; and describes victories by Marius over the Picts, in the year 78, as if he were not a subordinate ruler, but an independent sovereign. He does not recognise the existence of the various wars with the different states of the island, mentioned by Tacitus, and of numerous insurrections which are recorded. He seems to confuse the British and Caledonians entirely. Thus he makes the king of Albania, *i. e.* Scotland, to have been one of the confederate princes assembled to oppose Cæsar's landing. He makes alleged tumults taking place at the termination of the reign of the aged king Lucius, who deceased without heirs, the cause of a general revolt of the Britons against the Romans, which Severus, according to him, comes to suppress, and not for the purpose of reducing the Caledonians, as according to all other accounts. Carausius again, he tell us, arrives not for his own purposes, and to establish an independent sway, as we are always elsewhere informed, but to revenge the supposed murder of Severus by the Britons. In the latter times of the Roman power, when it was nearly expiring in this island, Britain is represented as not an unwilling member of the empire, and her interests are in a manner identified with those of Rome; so that the departure of the Romans, ultimately, is represented as an evil. The Romans once gone, an almost unbounded detestation is expressed for Vortigern, only surpassed indeed by the still greater testified towards the Saxons. Thus, this writer represents his countrymen; reminding us indeed somewhat of the bias of Gildas, though expressed with much greater smoothness of manner.

The other Chronicles, as we have noted, hold forth in the same strain on these peculiar topics: not a word about the Druids, or the actual subdivision of the island among sub-

ordinate powers, all thus evincing an unanimous desire to give an untrue account of the state of the country; which, indeed, has not been without its effects, as it has deceived most of the moderns, and prevented the real state and history of ancient Britain from being understood. We now pass on to the long succession of sovereigns, as in the Chronicles of Tysilio, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and most of the other British Chronicles, which has always been considered somewhat inexplicable in every century, since the publication of the Chronicle of Tysilio, in which it first appeared.

LINE OF ANCIENT BRITISH KINGS.—That this long series of ancient monarchs of the island is not pure invention in every part is very plain; for, when they might, the chronicles do not borrow in the least from classic sources. For instance, they give you no Immanuentius, no Mandubratius, no Caractacus, no Togodumnus, but leave the reader to account for these omissions as he can. In parts of this line, Tysilio has a different nomenclature from Geoffrey, but still will not borrow from the classics. This succession of kings being found in Tysilio's manuscript, of course Geoffrey could not have been the inventor of it. He both alludes to it as existing, and seems to have thought that there was a certain degree of evidence for it; since, in his dedication, he expresses his surprise that neither Gildas nor Bede had noticed these kings, or their actions.

This succession of kings, in its present form we may observe, cannot be true, for one plain reason, because these kings are represented not only as kings of Britain, but of Caledonia also, which appears contrary to fact. The chronicles would represent the succession to apply to the sole monarchs of the whole island, and yet they would purport it to be the lineage of Cunobeline, whose claims to be considered as sole sovereign of the island we can see no reason from classic authors to admit. It is true he was monarch of a very dominant tribe, and was making rapid strides towards becoming the Egbert of his day. It may be reputed, that those who remanufactured the chronicles, being unacquainted with his history, supposed the *status quo* of their own times to have existed; and even more, for they regarded him king of the whole island, including Caledonia, as has been before remarked.

On examining this line of kings, it seems to divide itself



into three successive periods. First, that from Brutus, which is altogether false and mythological, for the first seven generations at least. Secondly, the continuation down to Dunwallo Molmutius; which collection of reigns of kings, like the lines of the old Egyptian sovereigns, should probably be divided into several concurrent dynasties. Thirdly, the sovereigns of the Belgic race, commencing after the invasion of those foreigners; Belinus and Bran being supposed to have been the two earliest of this class. The period of these has been placed by some as early as about 694 years before Christ; which has been halved by others, and probably with an approximation to truth. Again, about a century before Christ, a new dynasty appears to have been introduced among the Belgic Gauls themselves, as established in Britain, in the person of Beli Mawr, or Beli the Great; the grandfather of Cassibelan, who was a conqueror probably, or an enlarger of the territories of his state; since history scarcely affords an instance of a sovereign obtaining the name of Great, except from conquests. The foregoing seems the most feasible and reasonable view of the line of kings in the British Chronicles, and we may a little more particularize and carry out these observations at a subsequent page.

There are some who will probably not consent to the idea of the line of sovereigns paramount of Britain, being so summarily dismissed. Accordingly, let us see whether there be any foundation for the opinion that the pendragonship existed among the Britons in these early times in the form of royalty; or whether the more correct view may not rather be, that it first assumed that form in the fifth century, after the departure of the Romans.

The customs adopted among the Celts, as communicated to us by ancient authors, must form our guidance in this particular. The Celts, then under their commanders-in-chief, invaded Italy, invaded Greece, joined themselves together to resist Cæsar in Gaul, under Vercingetorix (see his *Gaulish Wars*, vii, 4), and in Britain under Cassibelan, (*Ibid.* v, 9). These are undoubtedly historical facts. However, monarchical hereditary power does not seem at this time to have been conferred. Indeed, we have a striking instance, as Celtillus, the father of Vercingetorix, is expressly said by Cæsar to have lost his life for having endeavoured to make this species of power perpetual. His words are (*Gaulish Wars*, vii, 4)—

“Cujus pater principatum Galliæ totius obtinuerat, et ob eam causam quod regnum appetebat a civitate erat interfectus;” *i. e.* Whose father had obtained the chief power of all Gaul, and was put to death by the state, because he sought to form a kingdom. If it were then unlawful for a pendragon to endeavour to form a monarchical power in Gaul, the probability is, that it was so also in Britain. Cæsar gives us no intimation that Cassibelan was any exception to the rule; on the contrary, his case seems a confirmation of it. He represents him (*Gaulish Wars*, v, 9) as receiving the supreme command to oppose him; therefore he did not possess it before. Besides, he speaks of his sway and jurisdiction being confined to his own territories; and as oppressing a neighbouring state by hostilities (*Ibid.* v, 16); and in his own capital he eventually overthrows him.

Thus there appears no reason to attribute to the Britons of this early period, the adoption of that monarchical power which the continued wars with the Saxons, and the pressing emergencies of their situation, after the lapse of several centuries, caused to arise out of the supreme command given to one of their leaders against the common enemy. These views militate against the representations of the chronicles and the ideas of those who receive their story: but as they appear to be correct, the greater probability is submitted, that we have the succession of concurrent lines of kings of various states of Britain, and not one sole line.

There is scarcely occasion, after the remarks in the preceding page, to advert to the means by which the names in this long succession of kings may have reached us. We find there were historical poems among the ancient Irish, as the passages before referred to in the *Irish Nennius*, pp. 126, 220, and 270, fully show. The Druids of Britain cannot have been more remiss in this particular than the Druids in Ireland; and that some of such poems are preserved in Ireland, whilst we have none to show in England, may be owing to the circumstance that Druidism existed four centuries later in the former country.

Most of the names have reached us, as it will be easily understood, in a somewhat varied and corrupted state. In Tysilio's *Chronicle* they are assumed to be in the British form. Geoffrey of Monmouth gives them with Latin terminations. By Gervaise of Tilbury they are much travestied from some

cause, though he gives them with a termination approximating to the Latin.

In Mr. Roberts's *Sketch of the Early History of the Britons*, 8vo, 1803, is a defence of Tysilio's *Chronicle*, wherein he warmly supports it in many of its statements, including this line of kings. Among other things he supplies a collation of the same from the life of Gruffyd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd, from 1075 to 1137, preserved in the *Welsh Archaeology*; and also a second collation from the manuscript pedigree of the Penrhyh family.

**MOLMUTIAN LAWS.**—We now pass on to another important subject of the Chronicles,—the Code of Laws of Dunwallo Molmutius, asserted to have been made by that monarch. Some think these laws were translated by King Alfred; and the circumstance is by no means wholly incredible. Dunwallo Molmutius is supposed to have founded a new dynasty in this country, and the heads of new dynasties frequently establish codes of laws; as we find Frederic of Prussia and Napoleon Bonaparte did. Britain might be then in a very rude and uncivilized state, yet it was still within those limits in which, according to Horace, laws might have originated, and been put in force.

..... "Fuit hæc sapientia quondam  
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,  
Oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno."

Again, the Molmutian laws are said to have been revised about fifty years after his decease, by Mercia or Marsia, queen to his grandson, Guithelinus, and to have been those called the Mercian laws, and made use of by Alfred in composing his code. This, however, is plainly contradicted by that monarch himself, who, at the conclusion of his laws, mentions, that those of Offa, king of Mercia, had been among the sources from which he had collected them. See Hearne's *Spelman's Alfred*, p. 97.

But further, admitting that the supposition of this code has any due basis, the mention of Marsia would lead one to attribute the laws to the Belgian Gauls, on their first obtaining possessions here. Indeed others of this race would appear to have been lawgivers. (See Tysilio's *Chronicle*, pp. 52, 59.)

**THE MYTH OF THE TROJAN DESCENT OF THE BRITONS.**—This it is believed runs through all the chronicles, without exception, as even Henry of Huntingdon, who has no suc-

cession of British kings before the time of Julius Cæsar, has a few lines referring to this point. This fiction was by no means invented by Tysilio, the author of the primary Chronicle, as it is indeed given in the earlier writer, Nennius (see his *Historia Britonum*, c. 10 and c. 11.); and Ammianus Marcellinus, in his *History*, c. XV, tells us that a similar tale prevailed among the Gauls of the Continent, relating to their own origin from the same source. His words are, "Aiunt quidam, paucos post excidium Trojæ, fugitantes Græcos undique dispersos loca hæc occupasse tunc vacua;" *i.e.* They say that a few Trojans, fleeing from the Greeks, and dispersed, occupied these places, then uninhabited.

This being the case, it seems rather unnecessary to doubt the meaning of the couplet of Taliesin, the celebrated Welsh poet of the sixth century, as Mr. Gunn has done (see his edition of *Nennius*, p. 93), and it is believed also others; the most immediate reference of that couplet appearing to be to the British tradition of which we now treat, as the context seems to show, which is this. Taliesin, in his poem called *Hanes Taliesin*, or the History of Taliesin, had been carrying out the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the tenet entertained by the disciples of Pythagoras, and by Lucan in his *Pharsalia*, I, v. 447, to v. 465, attributed to the Druids.. Applying this doctrine to himself, he feigns that he had not only borne the human shape many times before, but also had several times existed as an unembodied spirit. In this vein he connects himself with various events which occurred early in the history of the world. Thus, he says he had borne a banner before Alexander the Great. At another time he says, he was one of the persons in Noah's Ark. Again, that he beheld the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Again, that he was in the court of Cunobeline. Again, that he was in Africa before Rome was built, etc., etc., etc. These various metempsychoses are not placed in chronological order; and in a couplet near the middle of the poem, speaking of his present incarnation, he says—

"I am come here  
To the remnants of Troia."

Here the remnants of Troia cannot well mean the Romans, who also claimed Trojan descent, but had left the island a century before Taliesin wrote. Wherefore we may be justified in applying this expression to the Britons.

ORIGIN OF THE ERROR.—Mr. Roberts pretty plainly shows, in his *Sketch of the early History of the Britons*, 8vo, 1803, p. 58, that this feigned Trojan descent originated from a wrong interpretation of a tradition current among the Britons in the time of Nennius, and no doubt long previously. This may be traced in certain passages of the *Historia Britonum* of that author. Nennius gives two theories of the first colonising Britain, *i.e.* by Brutus, son of Hisition (Hysichion or Huysgwn), a descendant of Æneas, and father of Britto or Brutus (see his chapters 17 and 18); and by Britto Bruto, or Brutus, the son of Silvius, the son of Ascanius, the son of Æneas (see his c. 10). Mr. Roberts shows, by a passage in the British poet, Gwyn ap Nudd, who lived in the fifth century, that Hysichion and Hû Gadarn, whom Welch legends point out as the first coloniser of Britain, are the same (p. 60). He therefore has an easy task to unravel the origin of the legend of the Trojan descent; for the great similarity of the names—Hysichion and Anchises—suggests an obvious cause for the tradition of Hû Gadarn having been joined on to the Roman line, with the addition at the same time of apparently the adaptation or invention of some other names.

The misapprehension, however, seems to have been unfortunate for historical truth. Tysilio having adopted the legend of the Trojan descent, may be regarded as carefully keeping out of sight all mention of the three Belgic invasions or colonisations of Britain, for the plain reason, that the doing so would have thrown doubt on his story. Once a mention of the second invasion of the Belgæ, seems accidentally, as it were, to break forth, as he tells us it was one of the magical plagues of Lhud, the son of Beli the Great, that the Coranians had intelligence of all that was done in his kingdom. (See Roberts's *Chronicle of Tysilio*, p. 68.) The remedy suggested was one by which the Coranians, *i.e.* the Icenî Coritani, described as living among his subjects, might be destroyed. Hence it may be conjectured that they had been conquered, and that some massacres or punishments took place among them at this time; which was about a century before Christ.

MERDDIN OR MERLIN.—Besides the above particulars, in the *Chronicle of Tysilio*, which have been brought to notice, there is also the appearance in its pages of Merlin, wizzard seer or counsellor, a remarkable character of the middle ages. This personage had before been mentioned in the *Historia*

*Britonum* of Nennius, in which, strangely enough, he is confused with Aurelius Ambrosius, which in some measure evinces the little pains which were taken in compiling some parts of that document, as Mr. Gunn has clearly shown in his edition of *Nennius*, that the mistake has arisen from the one being called Embrys, *i.e.* Ambrosius, and the other Merddin Embrys. He is introduced in Tysilio's *Chronicle* in two characters: first, as a prophetic youth, counselling Vortigern concerning the building of his fortress; and, secondly, as the counsellor and architect, of Aurelius Ambrosius, in building Stonehenge. Shall we say that the admixture of fiction in the chronicle is solely imputable to borrowing from romance? Mr. Roberts, in his *Sketch of the History of the Britons*, p. 145, has pointed out another cause, namely, pageants. His idea plainly appears to be, though indeed he does not fully develop it, that the acts of their great men of old, having often been again and again represented in the way of shows, pageants, processions, and dramatic scenes, with additions, *ad libitum*, as in the case of Ambrosius, Merddin his counsellor, Arthur, and others, a variety of fictions thus became associated with their names, which even found their way into the histories of those times. The hypothesis of Mr. Roberts seems ingenious, and tends to clear up much mystery, in which some parts of the ancient British history are involved.

REMARKS.—In retrospect of the British Chronicles, including generally the whole of them along with that of Tysilio, their narrative may be classified under three heads, *i.e.*, 1. The wholly visionary and invented details of the commencing descents; 2. The distorted and apparently misapplied chain of events down to the time of Cæsar, which events have the appearance of being traditions applying to the reguli of various British states worked up into one story; and 3. Their narratives from the time of Cæsar to the end of the seventh century.

To give the character of them in a few words. They supply a very irregular species of history, and very uncertain from their numerous fables, and legends; but as regards Tysilio's work, and, the translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth, delivered in pretty good phrase and arrangement. It is without doubt that there is much fact in the Chronicles, not communicated elsewhere; but extremely difficult to ascertain; for everything in these compositions requires corroboration. The

circumstance particularly demanding attention in the chronicles is, as before observed, that they scarcely ever follow accounts in the Latin classics or historians; which seems to show, they were not deficient in materials in their own way.

We may now give the variations of the later part of the line of kings, as it may be found in the different Chronicles, the probability being that a portion of them may not be mere errors of transcription, but be based on authorities real or presumed. For illustration, a lineage of the family of the British king Cunobeline, will be given from the classics as far as they furnish particulars, as also Tysilio's earlier or imaginary line from Brutus and the Trojans. A few notes will be added.

## No. I.

THE CUNOBELINE FAMILY.—*Pedigree, according to the Classics; i.e. Julius Cæsar, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion Cassius, and Orosius.*

Immannentius, King of  
the Trinobantes, killed by  
Cassivelaunus, B.C. 54.



Mandubratius,\* dethroned by Cassivelaunus,  
fled for refuge to Cæsar, and was by him  
restored to his kingdom, B.C. 55.

Cunobelinus, or Cimbelinus,  
styled a King of the Britons,  
died in the reign of Caligula, about A.D. 41.



Adminius, or  
Minocuno-  
belinus,  
according to  
Orosius,  
fled for refuge  
to Caligula,  
about A.D. 40.

Togodumnus  
appears, from his  
name, to have  
been appointed  
chief of the  
Dobuni, a portion  
of his father's  
dominions,  
killed in battle  
with the Romans,  
A.D. 43.

Caractacus (called Cataratacus  
by Dion, Caratacus by Zonaras),  
Prince of the Silures, carried on  
the war, after the conquest of  
Camulodunum, and was taken  
prisoner to Rome, with his wife  
and daughter, A.D. 51. After-  
wards released; subsequent to  
which time he is unmentioned  
in history.

Brothers  
carried  
prisoners  
to Rome,  
A.D. 51.

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\* The name of Mandubratius is supposed properly to have been Manduvrag, implying the ruler of the land; however Orosius calls the same person Androgorius; the Chronicles call him Androgeus; and the Welch, Avarwy.

## No. II.

GENEALOGY OR SUCCESSION OF BRITISH KINGS AS IN TYSILIO'S CHRONICLE DOWN TO LUCIUS, THE FIRST CHRISTIAN KING: WITH THE DATES ASSIGNED BY ROBERTS, THE EDITOR OF TYSILIO TO THE BEGINNING OF THEIR REIGNS.

## MYTHIC PERIOD.

B. C. 1074; Brutus, 1050; Lochnus, 1041; Gwendolena wife of Lochnus, 1027; Madoc his son, 1000; Membyr and Mael, 974; Efrog, 935; Brutus, green shield, or Brutus the second.

Having assigned the foregoing as supposed mythic personages, it seems very consistent to form the hypothesis that the following names, given according to the chronicle, were really chiefs or kings in some part of Britain, though chronologically misplaced, in fact apparently belonging to a much later date, and probably not one lineage or succession, but composed of various broken series.

## VARIOUS CHIEFS AND KINGS.

923, Lleon; 898, Rhun Baladr Bras, or Rud Hudibras; 859, Blaiddyd, or Bladud; 839, Llyr or Lear; 779, Cordelia his daughter; 774, Cunedda and Morgan; 726, Rhiwallon (*i.e.* king of Wallia, or king of the outdwellers); 724, Gorwst, 717, Saissylt; 711, Iago; 704, Cynfarch; 695, Gwrfyw Dygn, and afterwards Fervex or Ferrex and Porrex, *i.e.* "Fervex, the Lord and King;" 694, Dyfawal Moelmyd, *i.e.*, "Lord of Dumnonia"\*

The last of the above chiefs, it will be seen, was connected by his name with Dumnonia, and Tysilio's *Chronicle* also gives him an origin thence. Dunwallo was succeeded by Belinus and Brennus, apparently Belgic Gauls by their names, whence we may conclude they are erroneously styled by the *Chronicles*, sons of Dunwallo. We may consider that from this date the greater part of the British kings were Belgic Gauls who had come over here, and consequently that the *Chronicle* and its commentaries have placed the two chiefs now mentioned nearly two centuries too early.

Dumnonia, according to Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and others, was that part of Britain which had the earliest communication with foreigners, being a great mart for trade in the exportation of metals. The Phœnicians are even asserted to

\* This appears to be the general import of the name, as mod(ur) which seems to form the concluding part of the name Moelmyd, is to be rendered king or ruler. The meaning of the word Moel, the adjunct to this name or title, is uncertain. Rowland, in his *Mona Antiqua*, p. 324, supposes it to be identical with the *Mael* which is a component part of various British names; as in Arthmael, Maelgwyn, etc.



have resorted hither in very early times, and as some think to have formed settlements. At any rate there was evidently sufficient communication with abroad to be the means of a superior civilization being introduced in this quarter, and an advance in the arts, and thus the Dumnonian state may have become established, and brought forward in some degree of eminence in Britain, three or four centuries before the Christian era. Here a coinage was first introduced (see the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, p. 139 to p. 146), and it may be judged to have been the first organised state in Britain.

In the foregoing list, the names, it may be observed, of Ferrex, or Fervex and Porrex occur, which, though placed separately, probably only apply to one person. Fervex signifies no more ostensibly than *fer Vix*, or "the Icenian;" and if so the titular name, Fer-Vix Porrex, probably belongs to times much subsequent to Dunwallo. This ancient lineage being apparently founded on metrical genealogies, and fragments of bardic poetry, Tysilio or others may have woven it into a texture, in many parts, of their own imagining. In fact, we can see the machinery in Irish bardic relics, which have been preserved to a greater extent than those of Britain.

Dunwallo's date appears to be best assigned immediately before the first Belgic invasion, or about B.C. 360: or shortly before the voyage of Pytheas to Britain.

The two next names which we come to in the lineage, Beli and Bran (Belinus and Brennus), notwithstanding the disguise of the distorted narrative in the *Chronicle*, appear to be connected with the great Belgic invasion of Hû Gadarn, dating about the year B.C. 350. That Belinus and Brennus were two conspicuous leaders of the Belgic Gauls in this country there is but little doubt; and in forming this opinion we may entirely disregard the romance with which the *Chronicle* otherwise envelopes their story: though that one of them may have afterwards returned to the continent and taken a part in the military expeditions of his countrymen, is by no means impossible, and, indeed, is suited to the restless character of the ancient Gauls. We may now continue with the list.

RULERS AND CHIEFS OF THE ISLAND DURING THE GALLO-BELGIC PERIOD,  
TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CUNOBELINE FAMILY.

667, Beli and Bran; 605, Gurgant Furfrwch; 593, Cyhelin; 580, Marsia; 572, Saissylt II; 563, Cynfarch II; 588, Daned; 543, Moryd; 533, Gorfiniaw; 517, Arthal;—Elidr; 500, Arthal, the second time; 490, Elidr, the

second time; 487, Owain and Peredur; 472, Elidr, the third time; 451, Rhys, son of Gorviniaw; 449, Morgan; 448, Einion; 442, Eidwal; 440, Rhun; 433, Geraint; 413, Cadell; 403, Coel; 393, Porrex; 381, Ceryn; 374, Silgnius; 369, Eidal, or Eudaf; 363, Andras; 351, Urien; 343, Elvryd; 323, Clydoc; 304, Clydno; 291, Gorwst II; 278, Meiriawn; 266, Blaiddyd; 263, Caff; 233, Owain II; 230, Saissyllt III; 222, Blegoryd; 183, Arthmael; 175, Eidol; 163, Rhydion; 154, Rhydderch; 138, Sawl Ben Uchel; 123, Pirr; 113, Capeir.

The period occupied by these rulers, forty-three in number, may be estimated as somewhat less than 250 years. This sufficiently shows that no regular series of sovereigns is here presented to us, as we shall see immediately that five sovereigns of the Cunobeline family extend over 140 years. A lineal succession of monarchs for 250 years might be estimated at about 15. The above then were Belgic chiefs of various parts of the kingdom; many of them reigning at the same time. Among them also there might have been some chiefs of Dumnonia.

#### THE CUNOBELINE SERIES.

108. Manogan, or Minocan; 99 Beli; 89 Lludd; 55 Cassibelan; 47 Temancius (the Mandubratius of Cæsar); 13, Cunobeline; A.D. 41, Gwydyr, or Togodubnus, or Dubnovellaunos; A.D. 43, Gweyrydd, or Caractacus. After which follow Meurig; Coel ii; and Lucius, at uncertain dates, to the latter end of the second century.

The Penrhyn pedigree gives the descent connected with this line subsequent to Dunwallo Molmutius, thus.

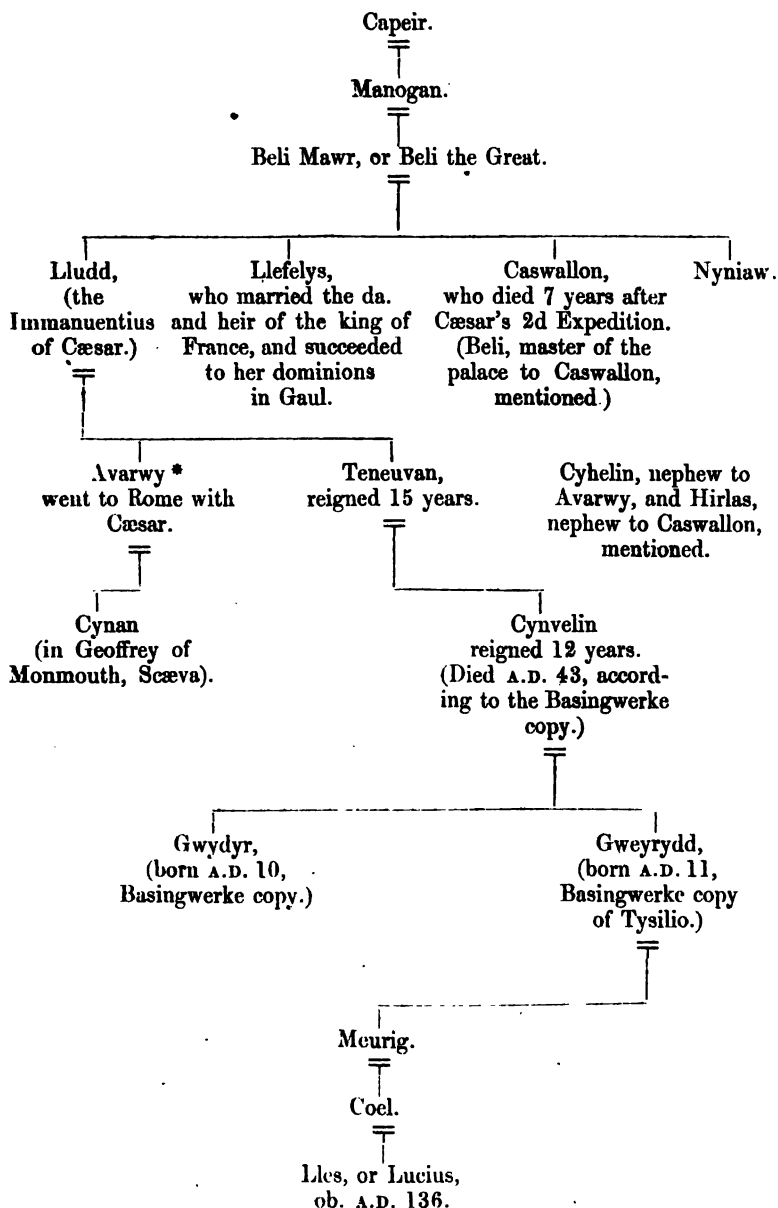
Dyfnwal; Beli; Gwrgan; Farfdrwch; Kyhelin; Seissyllt; Dan; Morydd; Elidir; Geraint; Cadall; Coel; Porrax; Kereni; Andreas; Urien; Ithel; Clydawe; Gwrgwst; Meirion; Bleuddyd; Caxho; Owen; Seissyllt; Arthfael; Eidiol; Rhydion; Rhydderch; Saul Ben-isel; Pyr; Kaxor; Mynogan; Beli Mawr, or Belinus Magnus.

After this, leaving the royal line for twelve or thirteen generations, it comes again into it, in the person of Coel Goedhebog, somewhat contradicting in its commencement, the lineage of Cunedda, which we shall see presently.

Afflech, younger son of Beli Mawr; Afallach; Enddolaw; Endos; Enyd; Endeyrn; Endigant; Rhydeyrn; Rhyfedel; Graad; Urban; Tudbroyl; Deheufraint; Tegfan; Coel Goedhebog. After whom it touches no more on the royal line. It will be observed that the first portion of the names can only be considered as affording variations of orthography.

We may add in somewhat further illustration of Tysilio's lineage, that Welch pedigrees deduce the descent of Dunwallo Molmutius, from Aedd Mawr, through Dyfnfarth Prydain; Cyrdon Cwrwyd; Enyd and Dodion. (*See the Pedigree of the Penrhyn Family.*) Tysilio, however, makes him the son of Clydno. (*See Tysilio's Chronicle*, p. 47.)

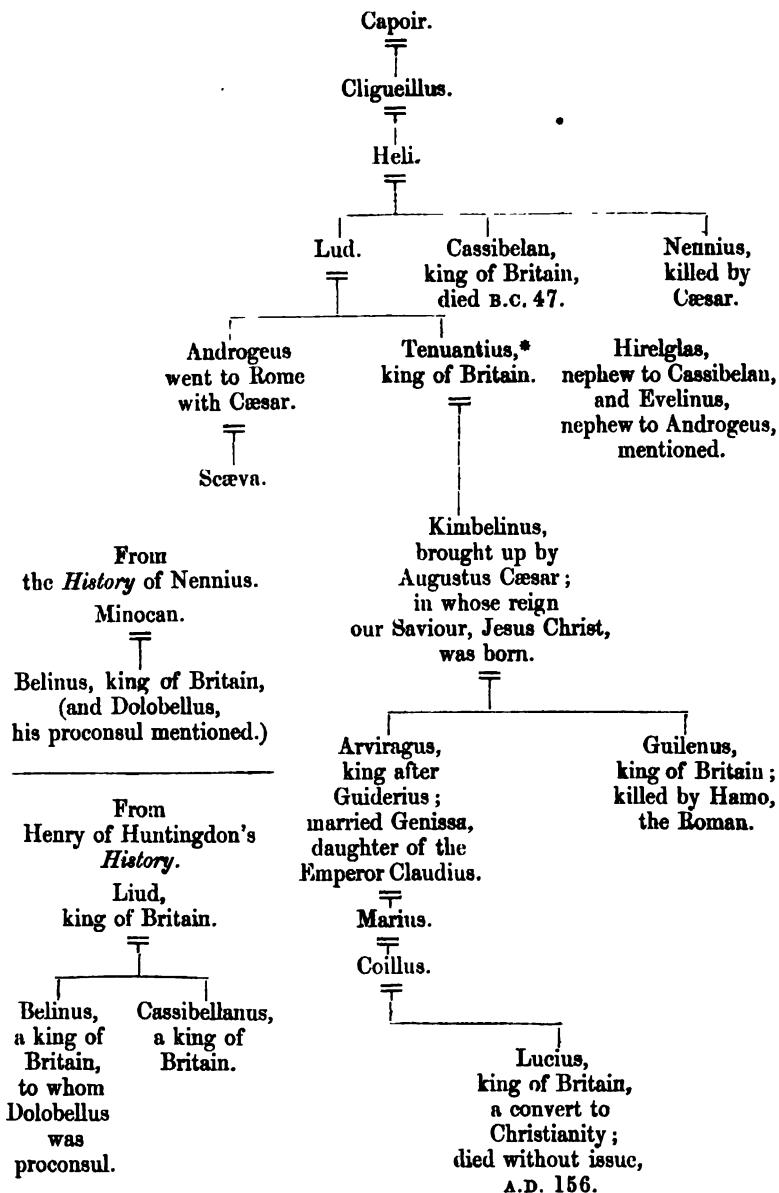
No. III.  
 PEDIGREE *according to Tysilio.*



\* It has been thought that Avarwy might have been written in Latin Avarogeus, and hence mistaken for Androgeus.

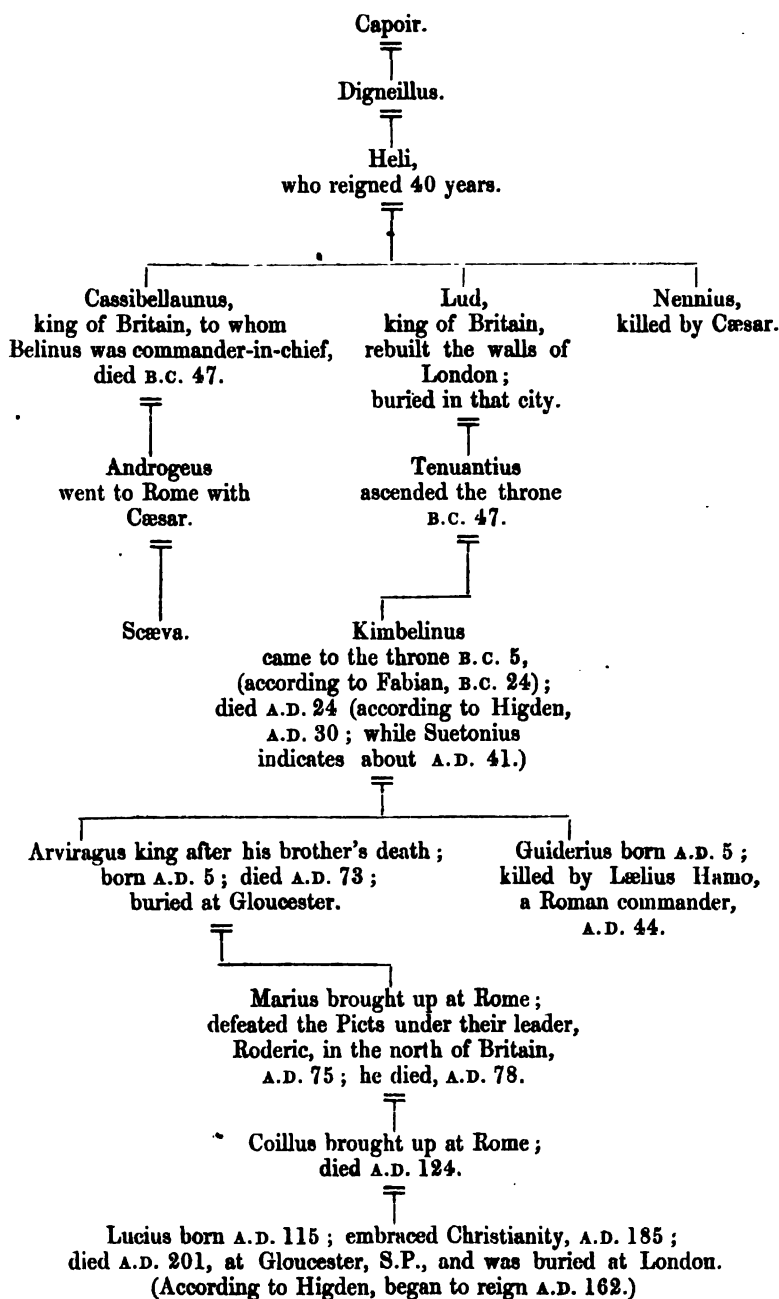
## No. IV.

## PEDIGREE according to Geoffrey of Monmouth.



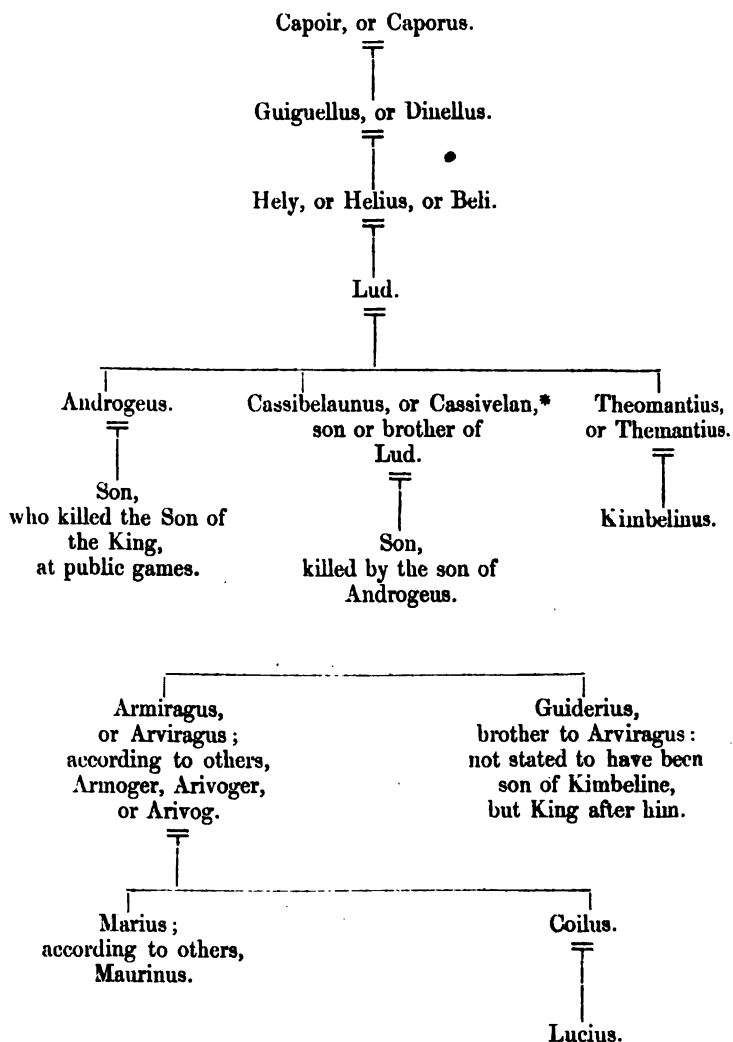
\* With this Fabian's *Chronicle* nearly agrees, the variations being Temancius for Tenuantius, and Hireldus for Hirelgas. Henry of Huntingdon, in his *De Origine Regum Britannorum*, from the manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Chronicle*, at Bec, in Normandy, agrees with Fabian in the orthography of Temancius.

## No. V.

PEDIGREE according to *Matthew of Westminster.*

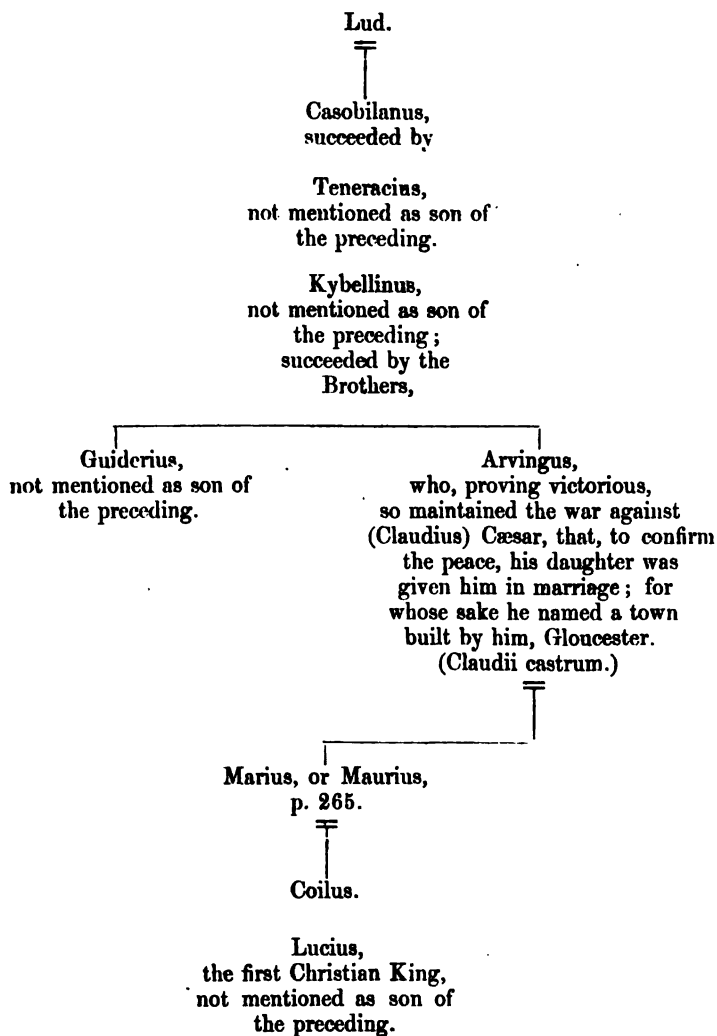
## No. VI.

PEDIGREE from *Ralph de Diceto's Historia Compendiosa de Regibus Britonum*, in vol. iii, of *Gale's Quindecim Scriptores*.



\* This agrees in many points with Geoffrey and Matthew; but makes Cassibelan son or brother of Lud, and varies the lineage of Lucius.

## No. VII.

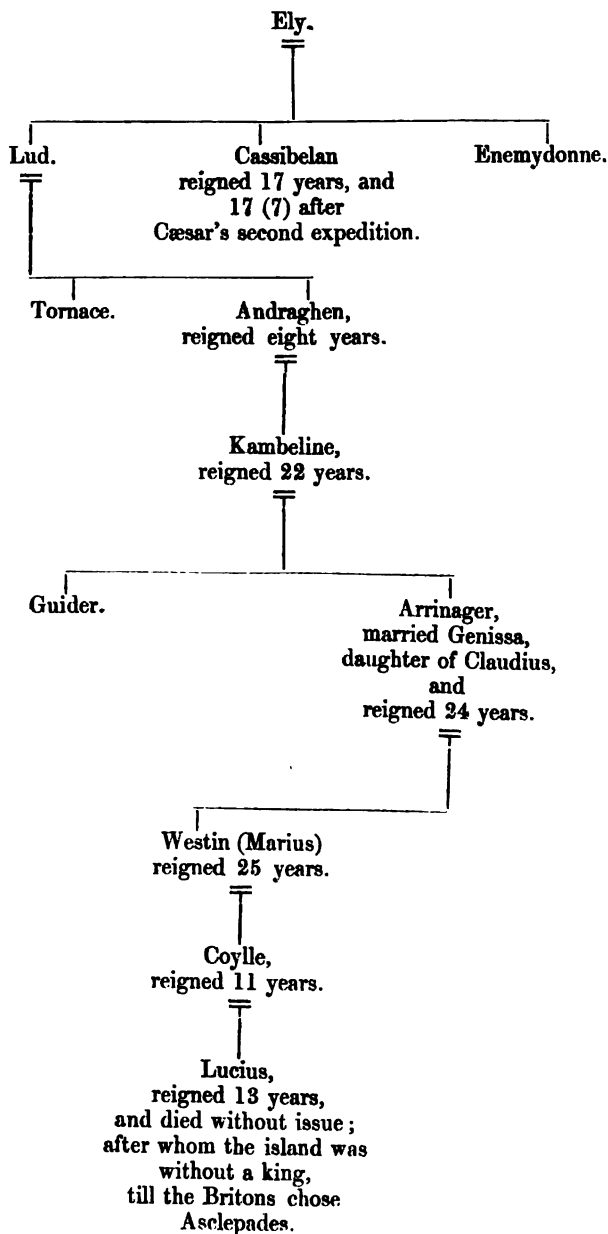
SUCCESSION OF BRITISH KINGS; *from Sprot's Chronicle*, p. 87.


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Extract from the Genealogy of the Earls of Warwick, in Leland's *Collectanea*.—"Guiderius, king, enemy to holy church, repaired the town of Warwick."—According to John Rouse, the Antiquary of Warwick, this was Caractacus.

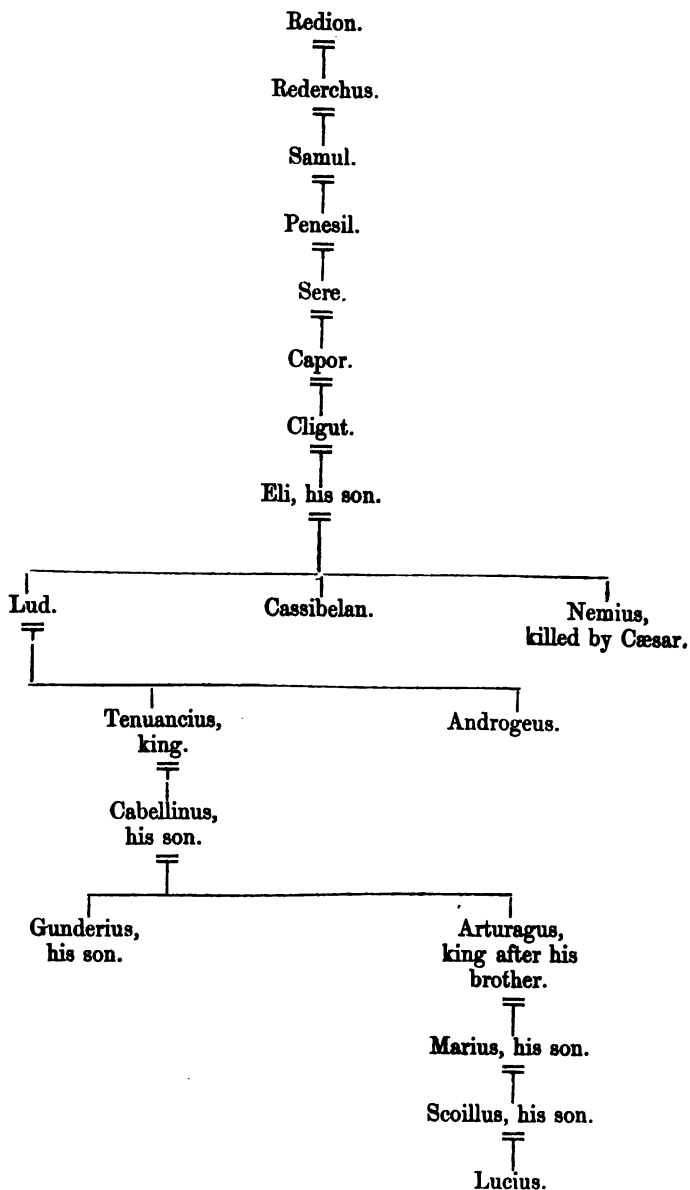
## No. VIII.

PEDIGREE according to the *Chronicle of Dunstable*.  
(From the *Harleian MS. 4690*.)



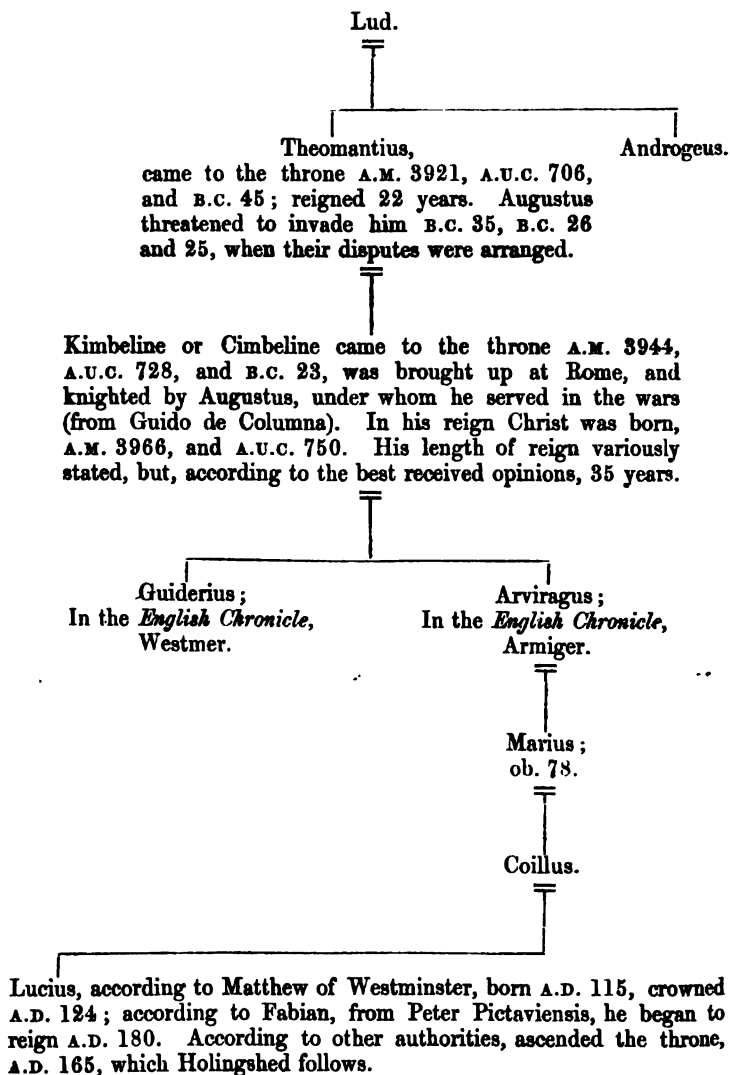


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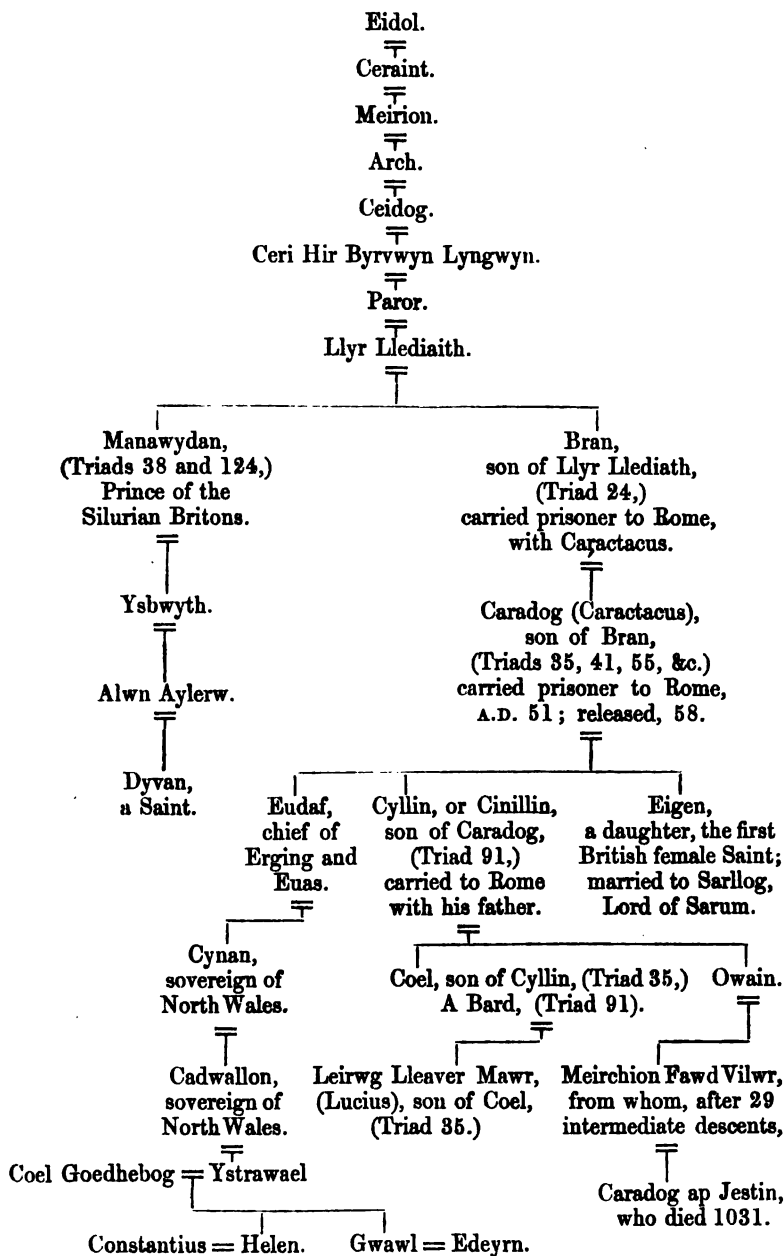
PEDIGREE *according to Gervaise of Tilbury.*

## No. X.

PEDIGREE from *Holingshed*, collected from various *Chronicles*.



## No. XI.

LINEAGE AND DESCENDANTS OF CARACTACUS, *according to Welsh Genealogies and Triads.*

## REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING GENEALOGIES.

Two writers, Nennius and Henry of Huntingdon, in speaking of British affairs at the time of Cæsar's invasion, mention Belinus the king, and Dolobellus his proconsul or general. Tysilio mentions Beli, master of the palace to King Caswallon. Matthew of Westminster has Belinus general of Cassibelan. Mr. Gunn, in his edition of Nennius, supposes Dolobellus was Cassibelan himself, and had the appellation of proconsul, as being regent to the deceased king's son; but the deceased king was Lhud not Belinus; and the term proconsul, or general of the king, must be understood of the reigning king. A comparison of the different chronicles seems preferably to point out that by Belinus in Matthew, Nennius, and Huntingdon is meant Cassibelanus, and that Dolobellus was his general.

Two of the chronicles from which the foregoing pedigrees are taken, also may be observed, differ from the rest: one, that of Sprot, in making Cassibelan the son of Lhud, which is supported by the metrical chronicle of Layamon; the other, that of Diceto, in making him the son, or brother.

The Chronicle styled that of *Dunstable*, otherwise the *Chronicle of England*, has a peculiarity which distinguishes it from all the rest, in making Andraghen (Androgeus) succeed Lhud after the regency of Cassibelan was put an end to by Cæsar, and not Tormace (Timancius) as all the others. Kambeline (Cunobeline) it accordingly makes the son of Andraghen and not of Tormace.

With exception of the various copies of this chronicle all the other chronicles pertinaciously make Timancius, Themancius, or Teneuvan, father of Cunobeline; never mentioning the Mandubratius of Cæsar; the two were nevertheless one and the same person; there being no evidence to the contrary in the chronicles, except the varying statement in the *Chronicle of Dunstable*.

We cannot, from these genealogies, or indeed from any other sources, be informed with certainty what year Cunobeline or Cymbeline ascended the throne. The chronicles appear to be divided into two classes on this point, some appearing to consider him to have commenced his reign B. C. 24, and others, B. C. 5. There is only one sole source from which a right opinion can be derived on this point; which is to ascertain the date of the last threatened invasion of Britain by

Augustus. The three intended expeditions of that emperor seem assignable in point of time to the reign of Timancius, Cunobeline's predecessor. They are mentioned by Dion Cassius in his 49th and 53d books, and are alluded to in four odes of Horace (Book i, 35, iii, 5, iv, 14, and v, 7); and the negotiations also carried on at this interval between Britain and Rome, are mentioned by Strabo. Dion Cassius, it is admitted, assigns the three intended invasions to A.U.C. 720, or three years before the battle of Actium; to A.U.C. 727; and A.U.C. 728, being respectively the years before Christ 84, 27, and 26. From the first and last of the odes of Horace we have mentioned, we may gather the correctness of Dion's first date; but the ode in book iv is directly repugnant to the last two years which he gives, as that ode mentions the conquest of the Rhæti and Vindelici by Drusus, which is known to have occurred as late as A.U.C. 739, or B.C. 15. In Strabo there is nothing to determine this point; there is thus some difficulty in ascertaining the conclusion of the reign of Timancius, supposing it to depend on this particular, which renders us unable to select any one date decisively among the various conflicting accounts of the old chroniclers; some of whom affect to settle this point with certainty. Fabian seems to have arrived at his date in this way: He assigns seven years for the reign of Cassibelan after Cæsar's second expedition, in which, indeed, the Chronicles seem generally to agree; then 23 for the reign of Timancius, which would make Cunobeline's accession B. C. 24. Should the XXIII be an error for XXXIII in his authorities, it would of course make the year of accession B. C. 14, which is much more probable than B. C. 24, and seems, on the whole, the best we can adopt. Fabian, it may be observed, quotes the *Catalogus Pontificum* of Guido de Columna, which it seems has mention of Cunobeline: a work not now in our libraries.

Timancius, the father of Cunobeline, if he were the same youth mentioned by Cæsar under the appellation of Mandubratius, or his brother, as most of the Chronicles assert, must according to the foregoing computation have reigned forty-nine years; that is, from the time of Cæsar's second expedition. This monarch, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, was of warlike disposition, and ruled with rigid justice. It is certain, from Xiphilinus, that at this time the Britons protected their coasts with an effective fleet of their own, which may have

much assisted his negotiations with Augustus. This author also informs us that a similar defence for the realm was prepared in the reign of Caligula, during which Cunobeline died. This would imply that at the conclusion of his reign, Cunobeline himself became embroiled with the Romans; and had to make extensive preparations against them. In regard to these supposed British armaments, Xiphilinus does not mention the word fleet, but it is implied that there was one, as, in the speech he gives, it is said that the Britons made the navigation "τόν πλοῦν" too formidable to be attempted. See the passage as in the original Greek, at p. 4, as also some remarks on this subject in the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, Addenda, pp. 7-14.

Respecting No. XI, the Genealogy of Caractacus here given from Owen Pughe and other sources, it is pretty certain that the leading features of it are founded on misapprehension, and that some other person is confused through the greatest part of it with the eminent British hero. Tysilio's *Chronicle*, compared with Triads 24, 35, 41, 55 and 91, shows this very plainly. For while the Triads have the genealogy, Llyr Llediaith, Brân, Caradog, Cyllin, Coel and Leirwg, that is Lucius, Tysilio has Teneuvan, Cynvelin, Gweyrydd, who can be shown to be the same as Caractacus, Meurig, Coel, and the same Lucius. Here there is an evident identity of ancestry of this last in the male line: and the impression produced is very forcible that the Brân, in the first part of the pedigree, is not a name but a title; that is, a contraction for the word *brenhin* or king, which, from some misapprehension has been inserted in the series of names, and has had the effect of causing an error in the real lineage. The Triads have repeatedly the expression, "Caradog the son of Brân," which in other words is Caradog the king's son; and from this we may understand that from some cause unknown to us, the name of Caractacus so stood described in the authorities from which they were composed. See further the *Coins of Cunobeline*, etc. p. 239.

We may now pass on to the Chronicle account of the two leading lines in Britain, in the later Roman times, the Dumnonian and Cunedda dynasties. As, in a former part of this work, we have already given a detail of British events, the present remarks will be extremely concise, being merely intended to illustrate this part of the Chronicles, and to be

introductory to the concluding part of their succession of British kings, beginning from Bran ap Llyr, whom the Chronicles mention as if he were king of the whole of the Britons, but who seems merely to have been one of the district or local kings of his time.

To introduce then the subject of these two dynasties, we may observe, that by the end of the second century the alleged successors, according to the Chronicles, of the race of Cunobeline had become extinct; as the aged king Lucius is represented to have left no issue. After this, more than a century elapses without the mention of any British ruler, however humble; for Carausius and Allectus we must merely consider as Roman usurpers. However, about this time the constant inroads of the Saxons, Picts, Irish, Scots, as well as the descents of pirates, who roved the seas, joined perhaps to the diminished quota of Roman forces in the country, appear to have afforded a scope for the native Reguli to come forward and raise themselves to popularity and note, by their laudable and much required exertions in defending their coasts, and repulsing invaders, who now came over in such strength, as to dispute possession in many parts of the kingdom. The Britons in Wales, occupying a mountainous country, naturally had great advantages in defending themselves; and it is evident that, at least a century before the departure of the Romans, there began to be formed here a powerful focus of resistance against the Saxons. In Cornwall about this time—another well protected district—Bran ap Llyr, a British regulus or chieftain of those parts (for this seems his proper designation), began to be conspicuous; and him, Welsh writers will have to be the same as Asclepiodotus, whose name is connected with the history of the island as the conqueror of Allectus. This Asclepiodotus is called in Tysilio's *Chronicle* Alysgapitulus, and according to Eutropius he had the rank of Præfectus Prætorio in the emperor's palace. Bran ap Llyr, or Asclepiodotus, having thus much power in Britain, was, after a reign of ten years, defeated and killed by Coel Goedhebaug, another rival British chief, styled Earl of Gloucester in Tysilio's *Chronicle*; the Chronicles using the titles of their times, instead of the ancient British ones. This Coel is evidently represented in the chronicle as a rebel of magnitude, as Constantius Chlorus, afterwards emperor, is sent against him from Spain: but peace was proclaimed; and Constantius marries Helena his daughter,

afterwards empress Helena. Half a century later Cunedda, or Cynedda Wledig, grandson to Coel Goedhebaug, and consequently, according to the Chronicles, nephew of the empress Helena, is mentioned as a prince of the northern Britons, according to some, those of Cumberland, according to others, those of Strathclyd; we have seen at the former page 85, that the term Cumbria in its ancient acceptation would apply to either. However, the Irish-Scots having, by an invasion, obtained possession of a great part of Wales, in which Cynedda or Cunedda had considerable territories in right of his mother, he sent his sons, whose names are communicated to us, Tibiawn, Caredig, and others, to expel them; which object they effected, and established themselves in various parts of the reconquered districts. These particulars it is true are not derived from the Chronicles, but appear in a manuscript procured by the late Mr. Gunn (see his *Nennius*, pp. 119, 120), and are here noticed as illustrating the rise of the family of which Cunedda was the head. We may add to this account that Caswallon Law-hir, his grandson, completed the victories over the invaders by attacking them in the isle of Anglesea, whither they had retired, and slaying their leader Sirigi.

The credit of repelling the Irish is by other authorities given to troops sent by Stilicho, the regent of Britain under Honorius (see Gunn's *Nennius*, pp. 119, from Usher and others); but there seems no objection to suppose that Cynedda might have been an important auxiliary. Thus a reason of an historical nature is assigned for the influence of the Cynedda family, and of their subsequent ascendancy a few centuries afterwards, and their succeeding to the sovereignty of the Britons after the dynasties of Vortigern and Ambrosius had lost their influence. These preliminary observations having been made, a list and succession of British kings, as detailed in the Chronicles, may now follow, distinguishing the Cynedda line by the letter C, and the Dumnonian line by D, and premising that the dates denote the years when their reigns are reputed to have commenced.

#### NO. XII.

#### SUCCESSION OF BRITISH PRINCES AND KINGS, FROM BRAN AP LLYR TO CADWALLADER THE GREAT.

A.D. 296 (D) Bran ap Llyr, or otherwise Asclepiodotus. A.D. 304 (C) Coel Goedhebaug, *i.e.* Coel the hawk-faced, who is said to have dethroned and slain the preceding. A.D. 305, Constantius Chlorus. A.D. 375 (D), Eudaf or Octavius, grandson of Bran ap Llyr; A.D. 385 (D), Maximus, Roman



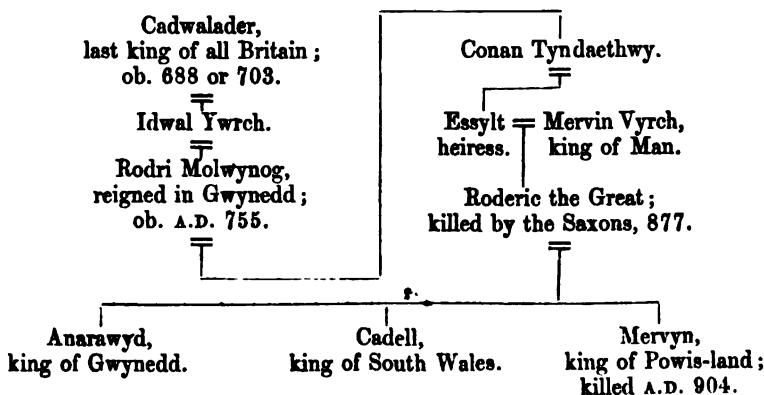
emperor, or rather competitor for the empire, husband of the great granddaughter of Bran ap Llyr; A. D. 408, Constantine the tyrant, said to have been originally a common soldier; A. D. 435 (D), Constantine of Armorica, descendant of Bran ap Lyr, and brother of Aldroneus, king of Armorica; A. D. 448 (D), Constans the monk, son of the above; A. D. 448, Vortigern; A. D. 464, Vortimer, his son; A. D. 468, Vortigern, the second time; A. D. 481 (D), Aurelius, or, according to Bede, Aurelianus Ambrosius, brother of Constans; A. D. 500 (D), Uther Pendragon, another brother; A. D. 517 (D), Arthur, his son; A. D. 542 (D), Constantine the Third, son of Cadur, Earl of Cornwall, Arthur's cousin by his mother's side; about A. D. 546 (D), Cynan, or Aurelius Conanus; A. D. 557, Vortipore; A. D. 546 (C), Maelgwyn Gwynedd, or Maglocune, to whom Taliesin was the court poet. He began his reign in his own state of Gwynedd about the year A. D. 517, was on the throne many years, and seems to have been a concurrent king of the Britons with Constantine the Third, Aurelius Conanus, and Vortipore in their successive reigns; A. D. 586, Caredig.

In this reign the Britons were driven by the Saxons into Wales and Dumnonia, but retained the kingdom of Strathclyud or Dunbartonshire, as also the district of Cumbria (Cumberland, etc.) for four or five centuries subsequently; the principal seat of their power being in Wales.

A. D. 600 (C), Cadvan succeeded; A. D. 638 (C), Cadwallon; A. D. 660 (C), Cadwalader the Great, who retired to Armorica, and afterwards to Rome, where, having embraced a monastic life, he died at a date variously placed, i. e. as in *Tysilio's Chronicle* in the year 688; according to others 703, as in Warrington's *History of Wales*, vol. i, p. 141. So also Owen Pughe, in his *Cambrian Biography*.

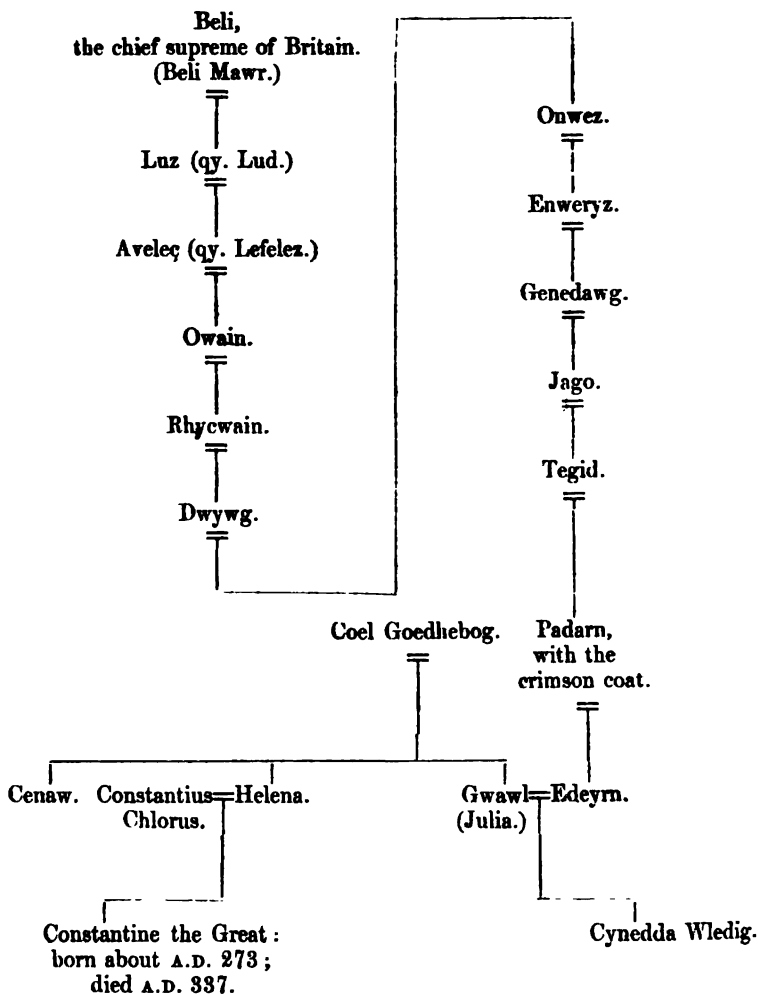
With Cadwalader ends the line of kings as given by Tysilio. Other chronicles however continue it down much later, indeed to the latest times that there was any show of national government in Wales. We may therefore add the following lineage from Cadwalader to Roderic the Great; and further introduce at this place some other genealogical details which may be useful in illustrating various particulars of the British story.

## No. XIII.



## No. XIV.

GENEALOGY FROM BELI MAWR TO CUNEDDA, AS IN GUNN'S NENNIVS,  
p. 120; AND ALLEGED DESCENT, ACCORDING TO THE CHRONICLES OF  
CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, FROM COEL GOEDHEBOG.



## No. XV.

## LINE FROM CUNEDDA, OR CYNEDDA, TO CADWALADER.

Cynedda Wledig,  
king of the North Britons. He began to reign A.D. 328.  
His sons expelled the Irish from North Wales. Ob. 389.

Einion Urdd,  
king of North Wales, 389. Ob. 393.

Caswallon Lawhir;  
defeated the remainder of the Irish under Sirigi. Ob. 517.

Maelgwyn Gwynedd, or Maglocune;  
began to reign 517; became king of the Britons, A.D. 545. Ob. 560.

Rhun ap Maelgwyn,  
king of the Britons. Ob. 586.

Beli ap Rhun,  
king of North Wales only, as Caredig succeeded  
as king of the Britons. Ob. 599.

Iago ap Beli,  
king of North Wales. Ob. 603.

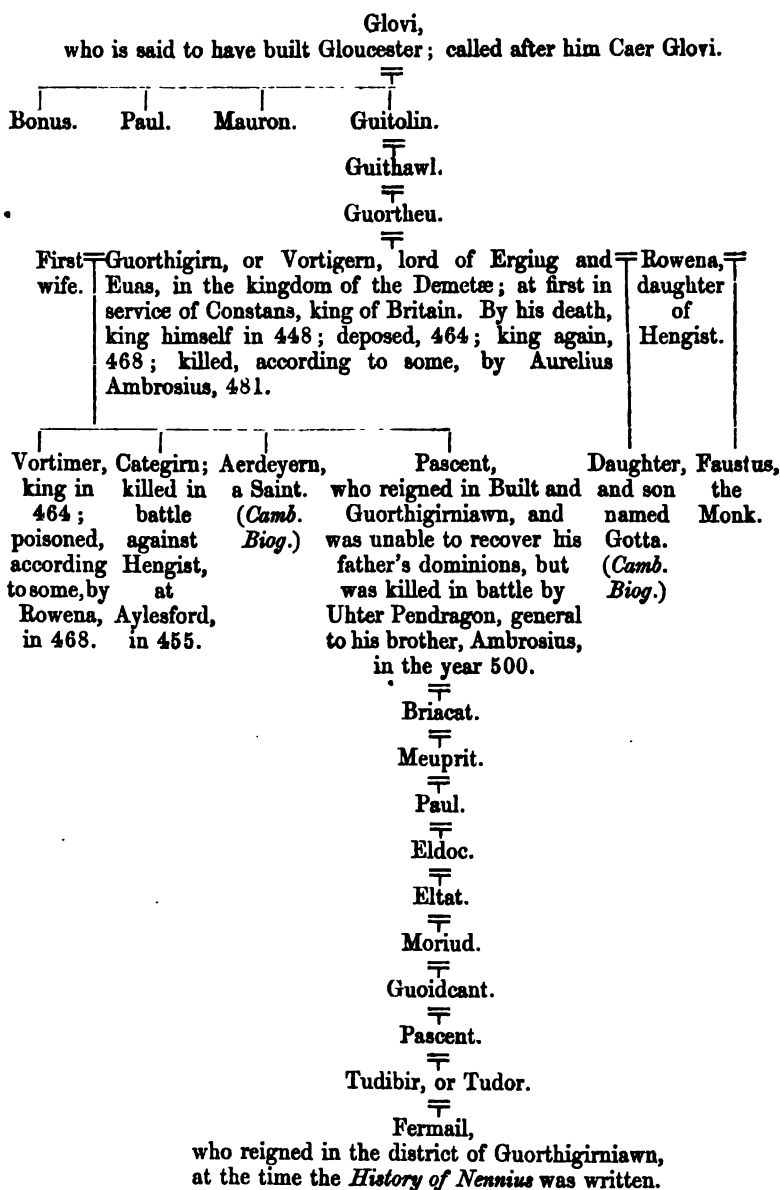
Cadvan,  
king of North Wales. He defeated Ethelfrith, A.D. 607, and  
was elected king of the Britons, 613. Ob. 630.

Cadwallon,  
king of the Britons; defeated at the battle of Digol, by Edwin,  
king of Northumberland, and driven to Ireland; reinstated by  
Solomon, king of Armorica, and killed at the battle of Denis-  
bourne in Yorkshire, A.D. 633.

Cadwalader the Great;  
according to Nennius, ob. 664; but, according to the  
Chronicles, died a monk, at Rome, A.D. 688.

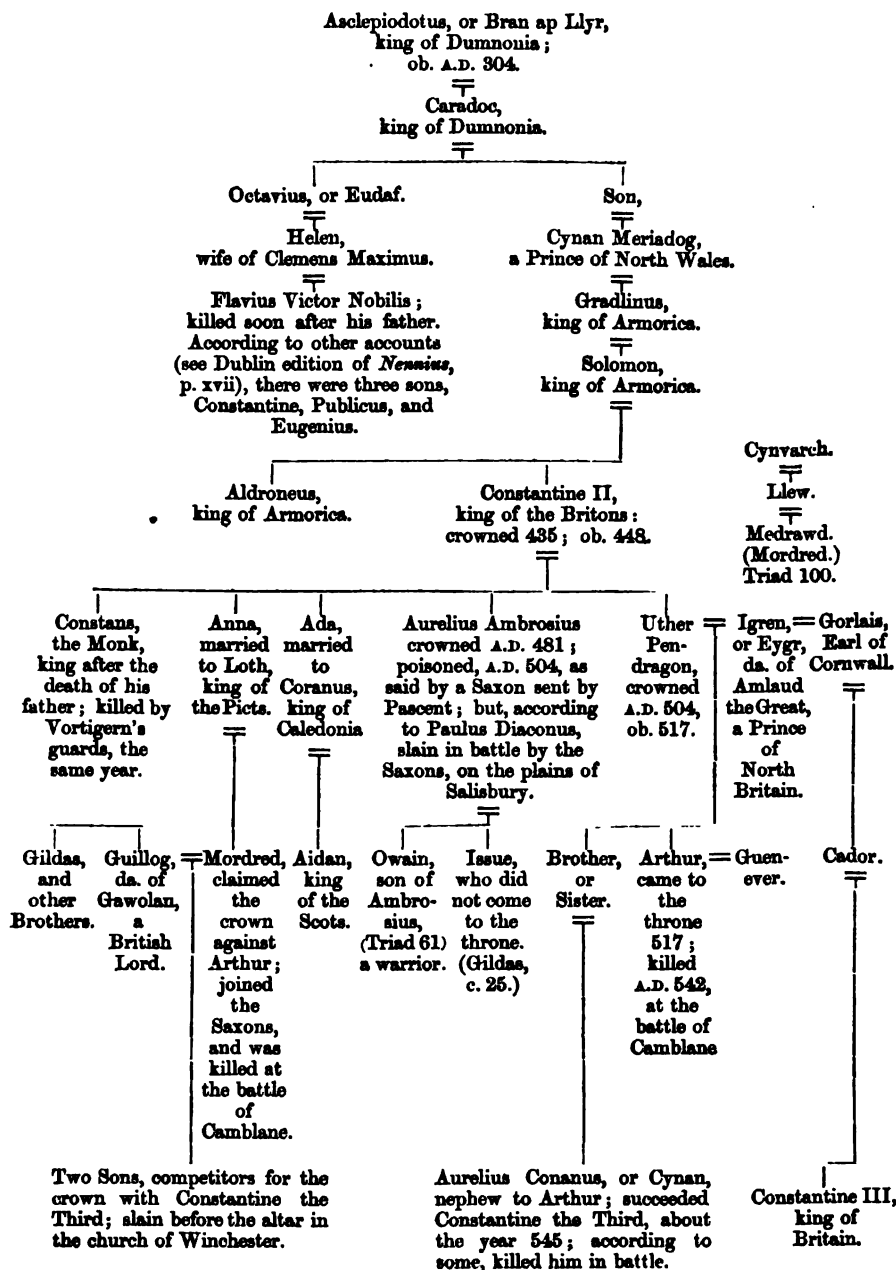
## No. XVI.

LINEAGE OF VORTIGERN, *from Nennius, c. 49, and other sources.*



*Note.*—The *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* gives (vol. i, p. 486)—1, Minogan; 2, Beli Mawr; 3, Auloch; 6, Aunlach; 5, Enddola; 6, Ednos; 7, Enid; 8, Edeyrn; 9, Edigent; 10, Deheuvraint; 11, Rhydeyrn; 12, Vortigern: which line, it may be observed, is inconsistent with Nennius.

## No. XVII.

LINEAGE OF THE BRITISH KING ARTHUR, *as in the Chronicles, &c.*

## REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING.

Respecting the connexion of the Dumnonian line with the kings of Armorica (see No. XII), which affords a very noticeable feature in the ancient British Chronicles, the particulars are briefly these.

At the time Clemens Maximus the Roman Commander in Britain aspired to the empire and led over the legions to the Continent, Conan Meriadaug raised vast numbers of the Britons to engage in the enterprise and crossed over the seas to assist him. He was made king of Armorica by Maximus; the British adventurers constituted his subjects, and there his family continued. This part of the story of the settlement in Armorica, has sometimes been attempted to be controverted, though without much success. At the same time there is a want of historical details.

Vortigern, the subject of No. XVI, is called by Rowland, in his *Mona Antiqua*, p. 159, and others, cousin of Constans, the young British king, whose reign was so brief, and whom he succeeded, which appears very unlikely; and which, were it so, must have been by the female side; as their male lines were not the same. There is no specific authority that after his elevation to the rank of king paramount of the Britons, he acquired the separate sovereignty of Gwynedd or North Wales. Whence the assertion in Sir H. Saville's *Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 473, that he was "Rex Winidorum," which we may understand to imply king of Venedotia, as that district was otherwise called, may be considered to be merely conjectural. It is true he is represented as retiring with his magicians to Gwynedd, and building there the castle Dinas Emrys (*Nennius*, c. 40), and a tumulus in that quarter is named "Bedd Gwrtheyrn." According to *Nennius*, c. 42, he is also represented as building a castle in North Wales after his name; where an interpolation in the text is suspected (*Irish Nennius*, p. 99.) But he is asserted to have perished at his own castle of Guerthigirniawn, in the kingdom of the Demetæ (*Nennius*, c. 47), which is more conclusive.

Regarding Arthur (see No. XVII), his existence, divested of the marvellous, may be considered fully established, but some doubts have been suggested as to his parentage. Dr. Owen Pughe, in his *Cambrian Biography*, supposed this eminent leader of the Britons, to have been the son of Meurig ap

Tewdrig a Silurian prince. However, Professor Rees has shown them to have been distinct persons. Besides Meurig ap Tewdrig was of too early a date. Further, as Nennius, or rather an ancient commentator on his work, calls Arthur "Mabuter," *i.e.* filius Utheri, or son of Uther; it affords a strong corroboration of the usual parentage assigned.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, AS FAR AS IT RELATES TO BRITISH TIMES; AND OTHER CHRONICLES ADOPTING ITS NARRATIVE. ALSO THE SCOTCH AND IRISH CHRONICLES.

It has been intimated at the former page, 68, that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in its earlier parts, is a very short summary and abridgement of the text as it originally stood. We must first, however, treat as to the origin of this chronicle. On this point we are informed by John de Fordun, who is also supported by Gaimar in his *Estorie des Engles*, that Alfred the Great caused it to be compiled from such materials as could be found. As to the earliest times of the Saxons in Britain, it is difficult to imagine that memoranda of some kind should not have remained extant among them at that date, to supply an account of their first battles; and therefore it should excite no surprise that accounts of them somewhat in detail are to be met in the *History* of Henry of Huntingdon; the less so, perhaps, as there is every reason to suppose, from their similarity of tone and method of narration, that they once stood in the earlier copies of the Saxon Chronicle. The accounts we refer to are reduced in the present copies of this chronicle to mere mention of time and place; almost to single lines in fact, which leaves us to form the supposition that as in process of time the latter parts of the chronicle swelled out in extent the commencing parts of Alfred's original chronicle were condensed, to save the labour of the copyist, as we see done in the *British Chronicles*, in various chronological abstracts of events from the Holy Scriptures. Henry of Huntingdon thus, there is but little doubt, met with one of these first copies of the Anglo-Saxon annals, not one of which appears to be now extant; and it is evident enough, he copied from a Saxon account, not only from the reason mentioned at the former page 54, but because in one place, after giving the narrative of victories over the Britons, the same in fact and result as given in the Anglo-

Saxon Chronicles, he then subjoins, "others have written;" and, with that observation, adverts to the contrary accounts as in Nennius, and the *British Chronicles*. A comparison, therefore, may be invited, and internal evidence is appealed to as fully substantiating these views; and we may conclude on this point with observing that a shorter narrative may be easily taken from a longer, omitting details, but a longer cannot be formed from a shorter, and exhibit minute circumstantial details, unless in romance; and Henry of Huntingdon's accounts, which we now refer to, do not appear to be of that nature.

Of the writers, then, who follow the narrative of the Saxon Chronicle as to British events, we have first, Henry of Huntingdon, who partially does so, and adopts, as we may venture to say, the full original text. Earlier than him there had been two writers, Ethelwerd and Florence of Worcester; who have altogether the same accounts as in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the short text. We have from this last circumstance a fact—Ethelwerd wrote at the end of the 10th century, and Florence of Worcester at the beginning of the 12th, as he died in the year 1118; therefore the first parts of the chronicle had been abridged as early as their times; and they did not trouble themselves to procure the editions first issued, which were more complete.

Of Scotland the chronicles do not seem to have been very dissimilar from the earliest of our British ones. They too have their correspondence with Julius Cæsar, and the like. Hector Boethius, however, the first historian of Scotland, did not disdain them; but Buchanan, a more cautious writer, who in after times succeeded him, introduced them more sparingly.

Ireland's chronicles are in number very many, which we might have been led to expect, as the retainers maintained by the ancient Irish kings, under the denomination of bards and historiographers, according to the information of Keating, who is good authority, appear to have been numerous almost beyond belief. Indeed this writer acquaints us that in the sixth century their number had become so excessive and the privileges they claimed so burdensome, that a national council was held to endeavour to abate this evil. This multitude of writers may therefore easily be supposed to have been very busy in working up ancient poems, traditions, or genealogies, or materials, however insufficient, into an historical form, after their own manner.



We may here be understood as speaking of the earlier parts of their chronicles, which treat of the origin of the primæval tribes of Ireland; and particularly of the supposed origin of portions of the Irish race, from Phœnicia, or from Spain.

This part of Irish history has found among others a powerful defender, in Sir Lawrence Parsons, an Irish baronet, who published an octavo volume on this subject, in the year 1799. It is not necessary for us to enter upon these discussions, but with so powerful an ethnological argument as the almost entire similarity of the speeches in the Carthaginian tongue, in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus, with the Irish language, it cannot be said that support is entirely wanting; but again it may be objected, that all the ancient Celtic languages approximated to the Hebrew, and consequently to the Phœnician.

#### SUMMARY OF THE SUBJECT AS REGARDS THE ORIGIN OF THE BRITISH CHRONICLES.

The following may be a kind of special result, at which we arrive on some of the most disputable points relating to the origin of the *Chronicles*. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the advanced state of the subject has suggested the discussion. But a few years since, before the publication of the *Myvyrian Archæology*, and Mr. Roberts's edition of Tysilio, all inquiries respecting the origin of the *Chronicles* were necessarily very vague, as there was no access to the pure text of Tysilio, and consequently opinions were merely conjectural. The day is now past to talk of forgeries of Geoffrey of Monmouth; as it is very clear that he was only an injudicious editor, who, while he introduced some few additional circumstances from then existing documents or traditions, and various alterations of names, gave way to his propensity for romance by adding still more to the already numerous fictions of the original. As this literary question has then completely changed its features, and has been considered under its new combinations in the foregoing pages, we may now state the Conclusions or Axioms which we may consider as definitely established.

1. That Tysilio's History or Chronicle, was written about the year 1000 (see before); and that at that time other histories of ancient Britain were in existence, as also detached accounts (ibid.) That this history was not written on the

same principles as ancient classical histories, or on the usual principles of other histories; but to further and promote certain views and purposes (*ibid.*)

2. That Tysilio's History does not appear to have been extensively circulated, from some cause, at the time it was written; as copies of it are not traced in the eleventh and earlier part of the twelfth centuries to have existed in Cambria: and, as it seems, to have been unknown to Geoffrey of Monmouth and his contemporaries before the discovery of a copy by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, in Armorica.

3. That the manuscript in the *Red Book* of Hergest, at Jesus College, Oxford, is the one which the nearest represents the text of the original; and that Geoffrey of Monmouth, in translating and editing this, supplied various particulars from British histories and accounts then extant, as well as added various fictions.

4. That Geoffrey of Monmouth's edition became exceedingly popular; so that the former histories and accounts of the island, which existed at the time when he translated and edited the work of Tysilio, were driven out of circulation; and that even his original itself, the *Chronicle of Tysilio*, became thrown in the back ground, and neglected; which is evinced by the circumstance, that there scarcely seems other perfect copies remaining, except that in Jesus College, Oxford.

5. That, on Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle obtaining this celebrity, other Chronicle writers began to compile from it; and hence that numerous new Chronicles arose, which have occasionally information and facts from the histories and accounts above alluded to, which had been superseded by the more exciting account of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and were then fast disappearing; but that otherwise in general they do but reiterate the narrative of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The foregoing results may be referred to as showing the true origin and subsequent republication of Tysilio's Chronicle, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the further multiplication of Chronicles, which ensued in course of time from it. These are views which, in the present state of the question, hardly appear to admit of gainsaying or dissent.

We may now subjoin a list of the printed editions of the Chronicles, which will be found to contain most of those which have been perpetuated in this way; and will give a sufficient general view of them.

## PRINTED BRITISH CHRONICLES.

Tysilio, the primary chronicle, edited by Roberts, 4to, 1811; also in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Paris, 1508 and 1517; Ditto, Heidelberg, or Leyden, in Commeline's *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores*, folio, 1587; Thomson's Translation, 8vo, 1718; Republished and revised by Dr. Giles, 8vo, 1842; Dr. Giles's Latin edition, 8vo, 1844; also his republication of Thomson's English Translation in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*, 8vo, 1848; Gaimar's *Metrical Chronicle*, by Michel, in his *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, 8vo, Rouen, 1836; Ditto, by T. Wright Esq. F. S. A. 8vo; Ditto, in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, fol. 1848; Wace's *Metrical Chronicle*, 8vo, Rouen, 1827; Layamon's Metrical Version, edited by Sir F. Madden, 8vo, 1847; Peter de Langtoft's *Metrical Chronicle*, edited by Hearne, 8vo, 1725; Harding's *Metrical Chronicle*, fol. 1543 and 1812; Gervaise of Tilbury, Helmstadt, 1667; another edition, 1673; Ditto, in Roberts's *Chronicle of Tysilio*, pp. 228-244, 4to, 1811; Sprott, edited by Hearne, 8vo, 1719; Ralph de Diceto's *Historia Compendiosa*, printed in Gale's xv *Scriptores*, vol. iii, fol. 169; Ponticus Virunnius, edited by Powel, with Giraldus Cambrensis, 12mo, 1582; Ditto, by Commeline, in his *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores*, fol. 1587; Matthew of Westminster, fol. 1667; Ditto, 1570, and fol. Frankfort, 1601; Henry of Huntingdon, printed in Sir H. Saville's *Scriptores post Bedam*, fol. 1596—1601; Ditto, in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, fol. 1848; Henry of Huntingdon's *De Origine Regum Britannorum*, printed in the work of De Torigny or Delmonte; Rudborne's *Chronicle*, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, fol. 1691, vol. i; Caxton's *Chronicle*, fol. 1480; Ranulphus Higden's *Polychronicon*; printed by Caxton; fol. 1482; Ditto, fol. 1642; Fabian, fol. 1559; Ditto, edited by Sir H. Ellis, 4to, 1811; Rouse, edited by Hearne, 8vo, 1716; Ditto, 8vo, 1745; Rastell, fol. 1529; Ditto, edited by Dibdin, 1811; Grafton, fol. 1569; Ditto, 1809; Hollingshead, fol. 1577; Ditto, 1587; Ditto, 1723; Ditto, 1807; Sir John Baker, 1641, 1658, 1684, etc.; John Stowe, fol. 1600; Strutt's *Chronicle*, 2 vols. 4to, 1777; Roger de Wendover, 8vo, 1841.

# NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS OF ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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## BOOK III. HISTORIES, CHRONICLES, STONE MONUMENTS, ETC.

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### CHAPTER II. WHAT WAS DRUIDISM? AND WHAT ARE THE ANCIENT STONE MONUMENTS OF BRITAIN?

WHETHER certain stone relics, which are found more particularly in this country and in France, the nature of which will be noted in the ensuing pages, were connected with the religious worship of the ancient sect of pagans, called Druids, or whether they were merely memorials for the dead—is a subject which has been much disputed. The former supposition was embraced by many eminent men of the last century, while the tide of opinion seems rather to have varied in the present century; the latter idea being on the whole most supported. In treating of the subject it will be the object of the present observations, to explain matters as much as possible, so as at least to exhibit the due features and bearing of the controversy.

The subject is introduced in the present work, because, whether the stone monuments of Britain may have been temples for worship, or merely sepulchral monuments, it is evident that besides indicating the habits and manners of the ancient Britons they must once have had a considerable place in their history. We are able in some measure to know why Nennius omits their mention, and why the Chronicles merely allude to Stonehenge; for their dislike seems apparent to treat of the sacrifices and superstitions of the pagans, in which their countrymen anciently participated. We have, however, a mention of them in Caledonia, by Hector Boethius.

The Druids were an order of priesthood, chiefly prevailing in Britain and Gaul, in whose hands the sole performance of sacred rites was vested, and indeed almost the whole power of the state; as they educated entirely the youth, made peace or war, decided all controversies between man and man,

and placed any that offended them in a state of excommunication : a punishment formidable in its consequences, operating as a complete outlawry. They had a still further hold on the minds of the people by professing the arts of magic, and foretelling future events. According to Cæsar, from whose *Commentaries* we chiefly take these particulars, (*Gaulish Wars*, vi. 13, 15,) they worshipped nearly the same divinities as other pagan nations; as, in the first instance, most especially Mercury, and next Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva; according to him also, they used Greek letters on common occasions; but held it unlawful to commit their precepts to writing, which they taught to their pupils, expressed in a great number of verses to be learned by heart. The testimony of Origen, on the other hand, is opposed to the idea of their being polytheists; he affirming that they only believed in one sole God; which he considered was instrumental in leading the people, where these tenets were professed, to Christianity. (See his *Fourth Homily on Ezekiel*.) Pomponius Mela asserts, that they taught the immortality of the soul (book ii, c. 2); and Hector Boethius, an historian of Scotland in the sixteenth century, supposes they condemned the worship of images, perhaps on no sufficient authority. They led a very secluded life, notwithstanding they mixed so much in all public affairs. Their temples were in the sacred groves of oak, which tree they held in veneration; as also the mistletoe when growing on it: and from the oak which, in Greek, is called *δρυς*, and in British *deru*, or *daru*, they are thought to have derived their name. The Germans, according to Cæsar, disclaimed their authority altogether, and did not worship the same deities; adoring only the sun and moon, etc. As the Romans advanced their conquests the Druidical religion was gradually put down; Strabo informing us that the priests of this hierarchy were held in great aversion by that people. According to Suetonius, Claudius seems to have succeeded in abolishing the order within the limits of the Roman Empire.\* Rowland, in his *Mona Antiqua*, p. 107, thinks they escaped to Ireland and Scotland; at any rate they existed there long afterwards, being mentioned in the first of those two countries in the fifth century, in the time of St. Patrick, who, it is said, burnt three

\* His words are, "The religion of the Druids among the Gauls, of dire cruelty, which had been so much forbidden under Augustus, he altogether put down."—*Life of Claudius*, c. 25.

hundred of their books ; and in Scotland they are mentioned in the year 277, by Hector Boethius, at which time they were governed by a President residing in the Isle of Man ; and later than the two above instances they do not appear to be mentioned.

Many structures, popularly attributed to this ancient and once most influential order, still remain, or partially so. They are all composed of masses of rock, in one modification or other ; and the different descriptions of them may now be noticed.

#### DRUIDICAL CIRCLES.

These there may be reason to suppose were very frequently placed in areas or open spaces, also of a circular form, in deep and recessed groves of oak. They were formed of large masses of stone set round with spaces between ; and there is no rule as to their diameters or the number of rocks they contain. In the Isle of Man there are instances of their approaching an oval form ; as near Santon and Laxey. (Wood's *Isle of Man*, 8vo, 1811, pp. 120, 175.) Two or more of them sometimes touch one another at their circumferences, and sometimes also a smaller circle is inserted in a larger one. In short there were various arrangements of them, but there seems to have been one and the same origin to them all.

The marking out a circle is the readiest way of denoting a place set apart for some particular use ; and this being done, the placing ponderous blocks of stone on the circular boundary thus made is a means very obvious as significant of what has been intended, and to give it permanence. The demarcation of a circular space for the purposes of separation is indeed an act well comprehended by all mankind. The early voyagers in the South Seas, for instance, found such a custom in the islands they visited, in which a circular space is often set round with sticks, having small flags on them, to signify that such spots should not be infringed ; a method the voyagers were in some cases themselves, obliged to adopt to prevent intrusion. This practice is called the Taboo, which, when made known by the voyagers on their return, was found to be a pure Hebrew word ;\* as indeed are many which are in

\* It thus occurs in the Scriptures : "For we should sacrifice" the חֲרִיצָה, "the abomination of the Egyptians ;" i. e. what they were forbidden : *Exodus*, viii, 26 ; see also *Genesis*, xli, 34. The author is indebted for this note to a learned friend.

use in the South Sea Islands : however, we may go much higher, as when Moses put the boundary round the sacred mount from which the law was to be delivered, in order that it should not be touched, (*Exodus*, xix, 12), the means so employed are generally understood to have been stones set at intervals, since it is not supposed to have been a boundary that afforded any obstacle to pass, as a wall or palisade ; but only to have been intended to mark out certain limits.

Having thus advanced the proposition that the circle denoted a place set apart to be held sacred, or at least to be respected, we will now proceed to distinguish the specific purposes for which these ancient remains in this country seem to have been intended. Accordingly, then, we conclude their uses to have been, as places of worship, as places of judicature or of assembly, and as places of sepulture. We may take these several particulars in their order.

**CIRCLES AS PLACES OF WORSHIP.**—We may refer to Stonehenge, in corroboration of this ; and we need not go further for the proof than its Celtic name, “*Cor Emmrys*,” *i.e.* the choir of Ambrose or Emmrys, which, in any sense in which we may take that word, seems sufficiently conclusive. Hence the inference is quite natural and according to rules, that Aurelius Ambrosius made that Christian which was pagan before ; in the same manner as heathen temples were converted by the early Christians into their own places of worship. Admitting then the great circle of Stonehenge to have been originally of the nature of a temple, it follows that other ancient circles might have been the same.

Receiving then this to be the case it might be expected that some kind of collateral confirmation would present itself, which accordingly seems procurable. Thus the Caledonian bard, Merddin Wilt, who lived in the middle of the sixth century, as quoted in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxii, p. 159, deploras the fate of that religion which could no longer be practised in raised circles. Again Hector Boethius, who was a contemporary of Henry the Eighth, and wrote a History of Scotland, in relating the reign of Mainus, who lived about 300 years before Christ, and speaking of his anxiety in duly establishing the rights of heathen worship, says, (see his *History* fol. 15, 6), “In order to move the people to religion he super-added to the ancient rites some new and solemn ceremonies to be performed to their gods, so that immense stones should

be placed in a circle, and the largest of them extended towards the south, to be used as an altar; and victims to be there burnt to the immortal gods. In confirmation thereof there exist even to this day those huge stones, arranged in circles, which the people call ancient temples of the gods. Whoever sees them will wonder by what art and by what bodily strength stones of so great a bulk were collected into one place."

CIRCLES, AS PLACES OF JUDICATURE OR ASSEMBLY.—Their use in this way is no less obvious; we may first cite the Tinswald Mount in the Isle of Man. This is the chief place of assembly in the island, where the public acts are promulgated; here are four circles rising by steps, forming three annular spaces round an inner circle. The outward one, 80 feet in diameter; the second 27; the third 15; the inner circle 7. (See Wood's *Isle of Man*, p. 160.) There are no stones at present set round these circles it is true; but the analogy of this circular inclosure to Druidical circles seems very great; and it must be remembered that the Druids had a president residing in the Isle of Man in the third century, as recorded by Hector Boethius, and as we have noticed at a shortly preceding page.

Mr. Logan, in his paper in volume xxii of the *Archæologia*, affords us a somewhat similar instance. In that paper, in an extract from the Charters of Aberdeen, a Court of Regality is mentioned, "Apud le standand Stanes de la Rath de Kingusle." In the same paper it is noted that the Court-hill was reserved in many grants of land; for instance, in 1511 a Charter of the Barony of Torbolton ordains the Court-hill to be the principal messuage thereof, "where all seising shall be taken." In these ancient customs a relic seems to have descended of Druidical times.

Out of Britain we have also some similar instances, according to Pinkerton, in his *Description of Empires*, published in 1802, quoted in Kitto's *Palestine*, p. 410: "The Icelandic writers tell us that stone circles were called Domh-ringr, that is, literally *doom-rings*, or Circles of Judgment, being the solemn places where courts were held of all kinds and dignity, from the national council down to the baronial court, or that of a common proprietor of land, for adjusting disputes between his villani or slaves." The other appellation of these circles in Iceland he tells us was Dorn-things, while we are informed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxii, that they have the name of Lawtings in the



Orkneys, which is also connected with the idea of legal jurisdiction.

**CIRCLES AS PLACES OF SEPULTURE.**—Their use in this way is not denied, therefore proof is not needed; two curious instances, however, much to the purpose, may incidentally be mentioned.

In Scotland a circle, handed down by tradition as the burial place of Galgacus, the Caledonian chief mentioned by Tacitus, illustrates their use as sepulchral. The distich connected with the tradition is given thus :

“At Standing Stones  
Lie Galdas’ bones  
Upon the hills in Galloway.”

Standand stones, *i. e.* standing stones, is an appellation usually applied to stone circles in Scotland. (See *Gentleman’s Magazine*, January, 1829; also our former extract from the *Archæologia*.)

A second instance has also some peculiar interest of its own connected with circles as places of sepulture. This was a burying place, discovered in a great state of perfection at Crieich in Scotland, in the year 1817. The circles in this case were concentric, the innermost one about 5 feet 3 inches in diameter, the outermost one 11 feet. The stones of this last were freestone, described to average one foot long each, and a foot high above the ground, 32 in number, all touching one another. Four of them larger than the rest, marked the four cardinal points of the heavens, and were placed in a true direction for that purpose.

The inner circle had 16 stones similar to the former, and similarly placed: in the centre of the whole was one that was round, with a flagstone lying flat immediately before it, on the south side; and under this was the interment, as a number of human bones were found beneath it. On the surface of the stone were cut out several objects, which seem to have had reference to the deceased, as the shoes he might have worn when alive, the two-handled dish out of which he might have eaten, and the square flask from which he might have slaked his thirst. There were besides, several hieroglyphics, all circularly represented, as the ring of Odin, the sun, moon, and planets. The circles when found were covered over with three feet depth of earth; to which the perfect preservation of this antiquity may be owing. (See *Edinburgh Magazine* for December,

1817, p. 423; and Small's *Roman Antiquities in Fife*, 8vo, 1823, pp. 231-4.)

INFORMATION FROM THE IOLO MANUSCRIPTS.—Some interesting particulars are communicated from this source, relating to Druidical Circles, in reference to their purposes among the ancient Cambrians. They speak of their uses as places of worship (p. 627), and as places of assembly and judicature (p. 628). As to sepulture, it is most probable that it was not one of their primary uses, but grew up in later times of Druidism. Regarding the formation of circles; the ancient mode was this: a stone was directed to be placed in the centre, and the entrance to be on the east side. In the front of this, at a distance of three fathoms or nine fathoms, was a station stone, with another to the south of it, to indicate to an observer standing at the stone of the centre before mentioned, the place of the sun's rising on the longest and shortest days (p. 445). These three were equally called "meini gorsaf," or station stones. The central stone was called "maen gorsedd," or the stone of presidency; or otherwise, variously, "crair gorsed," the token of presidency; or "maen llog;" the stone of compact, or "maen armerth," the stone of perfection (p. 446). Owen Pughe seems to have thought that this stone was a cromlech; but there are, it is believed, circles still remaining, which have a pillar stone in the centre. However this may be, the chair of the assembly was directed to be in the middle of it (p. 627).

REMARKS.—Though the object of Druidical Circles is supposed to have been as above, namely, for places of worship or judicature, or for sepulchral purposes; and though their first use, generally speaking, is supposed to have been of so simple an origin as the mere setting round of stones to keep those who officiated separated from the rest of the assembly, and prevent them from being crowded upon, as is even now done in the South Sea Islands, as before remarked; yet, with the knowledge of astronomy which the Druids evidently possessed, and which it seems they studied so perseveringly (Cæsar's *Commentaries, Gaulish Wars*, vi, 14), and during the many ages their superstition continued, it is most reasonable to suppose they were made with some reference to their favourite pursuit. It can hardly have been otherwise, and an observation which we will now make, will have some considerable bearing on the point. The religion of the Druids, like that of the Jews, as well as being their spiritual guidance,

was also the law of the land. Cæsar says of the druidical priests (*Gaulish Wars*, vi, 13), "Si controversia est iidem decernunt," implying that all legal disputes were referred to the priesthood. This being so, the forming their circles with relation to their astronomical ideas, would by no means interfere with these uses; but on the contrary might probably be thought to consecrate them. At the same time it is by no means intended to say with some, that every stone circle was an orrery of the heavens, and every inclined Druidical pillar a gnomon to measure time, like the gnomon of a dial by casting a shadow. There is such an infinite variety in the number of stones in circles, from eight to a hundred, that they cannot always have been regulated by astronomical considerations. However, when the numbers happen to be 12, 19, or 30, it strikes the mind too forcibly to be dismissed that the number of months in the year, the solar cycle, or the days of the month, are intended. Various facts are mentioned, which, though they should be received with caution, should not be disregarded; such, for instance, as that noted by Mr. Waltire, who made a model of Stonehenge, and who asserted that the circumjacent tumuli round that ancient structure accurately represented the respective situations and magnitudes of the (principal) fixed stars; and the avenue of approach the meridian line. Mr. Wood also, an architect, in his *History of Bath*, 8vo, 1742, pp. 31-40, maintained that the circles at Stanton Drew represented the Pythagorean system of the universe; and he is allowed by a late writer to have some grounds for his opinions, if his facts be quite accurate. (Herbert's *Cyclops Christianus*, 8vo, 1849, p. 223). It must be recollected that the astronomical knowledge of the ancients was such as would even now be respected. They had accomplished the measurement of the year nearly exactly; the Chaldeans at Babylon calculated eclipses; nor is it to be believed that the Druids were much behind. Cæsar says in the passage of his works just before referred to, that they had many discussions on the motion of the stars, and instructed the youth on the same subject.

#### DRACONTINE OR SERPENTINE TEMPLES.

It is uncertain whether these may not be of even an older date than the order of the Druids; at any rate they are connected with the superstitions which prevailed very early in

the history of mankind. When the human race first began to decline from the worship of the true God, and were seeking some novelty to which they should transfer their adoration, their attention was naturally attracted by such a striking object as the Sun; in the first place to worship it as an emblem of the Deity, and afterwards altogether to render it Divine honours.\* It is certain that nearly all the heathen Gods were originally chieftains, kings, and rulers, towards whom veneration after their decease gradually slid into idolatry.† But the worship of the sun seems even anterior to this; ‡ as when the Egyptians deified Osiris their deceased monarch they worshipped him as that luminary, by which is to be understood that they transferred to him the adoration they had been accustomed to pay to the sun. Thus also the Assyrians did, as it is said, to their deceased sovereign Belus, or Baal, whom they similarly exalted.§ When once introduced, this worship seems to have been very common; as the

\* This bias of the human mind, in the early ages of the world, is noticed in the Book of *Deuteronomy*, iv, 16; and in that of *Job*, xxi, 26, 27.

† The heathen priests discouraged inquiries on these points as much as they could, always terming the inquisitive impious: such as Eumeros, of Messina, who wrote a history of the heathen gods, now lost, proving they all had been men. See Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, 8vo, 1738, vol. ii, p. 173. The ancient authors who wrote Genealogies of the gods, were Hesiod, whose work is called his *Theogony*, and Apollodorus of Athens, whose work, entitled his *Bibliotheca*, is a history and genealogy of the gods and heroes. Among the moderns the work of Boccaccio is in repute, entitled *Genealogia di gli dei*. In late times a good compilation has appeared on the subject, the *Genealogia Antiqua* of Mr. Berry, fol. 1816.

‡ This perfectly agrees with the sentiments of Ludovicus Capella, Vossius, Bishop Stillingfleet, Gale, and Jurieu, as quoted in Asplin's *Altkibla*, part i, p. 7, 8vo, 1728.

§ C. Muller, however, in his *Satura Observationum philologicarum maximam partem sacrarum*, 8vo, Leyden, 1752, pronounces him to have been worshipped as Mars; quoting, to this effect, Vitringa, p. 272, on *Isaiah* x; Suidas, on the name Thuras; and Cedrenus's *Annals*. The following inscription in the Villa Giustiniani, at Rome, in Palmyrene and Greek characters, under a basso relievo of two divinities, on a votive tablet, in which a distinction seems to be made between Agabalus the Sun and Moloch, usually supposed the same deity, appears to bear on the same subject. See Spon. and Montfaucon's *Inscriptions*, vol. iv, and Wright's *Travels*, p. 332, where is a plate and the original Greek. The purport of the inscription is as follows: "To Aglibolus and Malakbelus (Moloch), deities of the country, Lucius Aureliodorus Adrianus, son of Antiochus, has offered a silver statue, with all its ornaments, at his own expense, for the safety of himself, his consort [*rov συμβου*], and children, in the year 547 (of the Alexandrine era, A.D. 234), in the month Peritius" (February).

Persians had their Mithras, the Canaanites their Moloch, and the Greeks and Latins their Phœbus, Sol, and Apollo. Mr. Higgins, in his *Celtic Druids*, his work so styled, p. 181, considers it proved that the scriptural Baal and the Druidical Bel or Belinus, were both called Apollo; and so it is most usually received.

Equally prevalent among the early races of mankind was the adoration of the serpent, which seems to have been rendered to that animal from the mysteriousness of its appearance, its difference in form from any other, its twining motions, its glistening eye, its large size in some instances, and the frightful pain and often deadly effects produced by its bite in others. The terrors of mankind seem to have made this animal a divinity on somewhat a Manichean principle; and similar effects may be traced on the uncultivated minds of barbarous nations in modern times.\* Mr. Deane who has written a work on the Worship of the Serpent, supposes it to refer to the temptation of Eve, the fall of Man, and to our Saviour's victory over the powers of darkness; but certainly the connection is not very obvious, nor can it be established. Various are the devices in which, in hieroglyphs, that is (emblematic representations), and otherwise the mysteries of serpent adoration are expressed in ancient sculpture; as, for instance, passing through a ring; as in the Caduceus; etc., etc. (See Bryant's work.) But perhaps nothing can more fully exemplify how strongly men's minds were occupied with it than the paintings discovered by Belzoni about thirty-three years ago, in the Egyptian sepulchre, known as the tomb of Psammis, where processions, obviously connected with these rites, form a principal part of the representations. It is now, however, time to say something in description of the remarkable and very grand specimen we have of a draconine temple in this country, at Abury in Wiltshire, to which Europe cannot produce a parallel, except, perhaps, the temple of Carnac, in

\* Hearne, in his *Travels in America with the Northern Indians*, mentions their indiscriminate propensity to destroy life, as exemplified when birds or animals of any description came into their power; exterminating every thing; even the young in the nest, of which they neither could nor intended to make any use. He adds, however, they spared rattle-snakes and wolverines, venerating the first with a species of adoration from the great dread they inspired, as they did the second from their voracity and destructiveness.—Hearne's *Travels*, 4to, 1770.

France, which existed in a tolerably perfect state only about a century since.

This in its general scope closely resembles the hierogram or emblem of the Saraph, or winged serpent, passing through a ring; whatever the true interpretation of the mystery there intended may be. The part representing the body is about three miles long. One extremity of this, on high ground called the Hakpen, of which word the derivation is unknown, forms the head, represented by a double circle of stones smaller than those of the avenues and other parts, the outer circle containing forty stones, the inner eighteen. These stones it is believed are now all removed. The great circle through which the animal passes is 420 yards in diameter; and was set round with a hundred stones, placed round a circular area inclosed by a deep ditch, having outside of it a lofty mound or agger encompassing it. The wings which seem meant to have the appearance of round-shaped or butterfly's wings, are within the great circle, and are each shown by two smaller circles, of 140 yards diameter, composed of two rows, the outer ones containing thirty, the inner ones twelve stones. These two winged circles are similar to each other, except that the centre of the lower or southern one has an obelisk; whilst in the same place in the other, is an Adytum, or Penetrable, formed by three huge masses of stone set at an obtuse angle to each other. In another part of the hierogram, about half a mile from hence, at the fiftieth stone from the tail, is another such penetrable on the northern outside of the figure, formed by two stones similarly placed in reference to the fiftieth stone above mentioned. This is usually called the Longstone cove. The whole number of stones in the structure is estimated at 652; a great proportion colossal; fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen feet high, by the same width, and about three feet thick, but some are only five or six feet high. All have been originally set upright, as some few still remain, which have not fallen. The stones of the Hakpen were among those of the smaller size, and were set thicker together. The entire number of which they consisted may be thus enumerated: the great circle, 100; the fore part of the serpent's body, 200; the hind part also, the same number; the head, 58; the wings, and other detached stones and obelisks, 94; total 652. It may be added to the above short description, that Silbury Hill, a short distance off, ascertained,

in 1849, to be a natural formation, was brought in to combine with the general plan, lying in a direct line between the extremities of the two avenues. In dimensions Silbury Hill is 172 feet in perpendicular height, 105 feet wide at the top, 500 at the base, and covers 5 acres.\*

The signification of these ancient relics at Abury, had probably reference both to the worship of the sun and also to that of the serpent; for which reason some introductory remarks have been given on both those subjects. The serpent is evidently the chief agent in the hierogram, but the outer circles of the wings may represent the days of the month, the inner the months themselves; the great circle the sun's supposed annual orbit, the body of the serpent his diurnal path; for which, as may be seen in the note below, there is authority from an ancient writer; † while Silbury Hill, the adjunct, may have been the high place of sacrifice. Regarding the derivation of the names Abury and Silbury, they have great appearance of being Anglo-Saxon. Abury would suggest to us not the fanciful Phœnician word Cabiri, or the mighty ones, but simply Alt-bury, or the old bury, or inclosure, or mount; while Silbury, with equal simplicity, would seem to imply no more than Sel-bury, or the holy hill or earth work. We seem only to learn from these derivations, admitting them to be correct, not any discovery in particular as to the intention and purposes of Abury and Silbury, but that the Saxons, soon after the battle of Salisbury, in the year 552, drove the Britons out of these

\* The late Mr. Rickman, the architect, in the 28th volume of the *Archæologia*, has a paper, the object of which is to prove that Abury is a Roman work. He argues, from two or three instances of measurements connected with the circle or its appendages, being component parts of a Roman mile, and from the part, generally supposed the tail, not being curved but running nearly straight into the Via Badonica, or the ancient Roman road to Bath. He supposed the circus was for the use of the inhabitants of this last-named city and those of London and Verulam.

† The passage alluded to is in the fragment of a Greek play, supposed of Euripides, which, with its probable translation, is given as under; and in it also appears to be some allusion to the doctrines of Pythagoras:—

Πυριγενής δὲ Δρακὼν ὁδὸν ἡγείται  
ταῖς τετραμήροφιν ὥραις ζευγνύς  
ἁρμονίᾳ πολέκαρπον δχημα;

i. e. the fire-born serpent leads the way, yoking, according to the harmony of celestial movements, to the four changing seasons, his chariot, laden with many kinds of fruit.

parts, the British names of these places being so entirely lost.

There is no other dracontine temple in the British isles so well proved and established as that at Abury. There are some others, which are occasionally spoken of as such, but complete proof seems to fail; either that the dilapidation has been too great, or that the supposed dracontine temples were merely one or more circles, with avenues; which, it is believed, were not uncommon. Thus the druidical circles at Stanton Drew, near Bath, and detached masses of rock connected with them, which we have seen, Mr. Wood argued were an orrery, or representation of the universe on the Pythagorean system, received quite a different explanation from Mr. Deane at p. 183 of volume xxv of the *Archæologia*, published in 1832. Mr. Deane thought that the representation intended, was that of two serpents issuing from a circle, a known emblem of Eastern mythology. According to his account the avenue to the nearest small circle representing a serpent's head, is sufficiently marked by rows of large stones remaining; while those of the avenue to the further small circle or other head are gone, but the hollows of some of them are still visible. In the meanwhile it may be observed that a plan in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for October 1785, though it does not confirm, yet it does not absolutely and entirely refute this idea.

The forming of dracontine temples may be regarded as having the same reference to the religious tenets of early races of mankind as the constructing buildings in modern times in the shape of a cross does to those of Christian communities. Late researches in America show that the idea of serpentine temples was familiar there among the ancient inhabitants, as an earthwork on a great scale, in Adam's County, Ohio, still in existence, is in the form of a snake, and is called the "great serpent." (See the *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, by Messrs. Squier and Davies, lately published.) From other sources we learn, that a very complete dracontine temple exists at Chichen in Yucatan, set out by large masses of rock in the same way as our druidical monuments in this country.

We may mention here, the druidical monument of Carnac in Brittany, formed of large masses of rock set in eleven rows, in wavy lines, and extending also at least the same number of miles in length. This remarkable object of antiquity is



briefly described by Mr. Logan, in vol. xxii of the *Archæologia*, and more at length by Mr Deane, in vol. xxv of the same work. It is only of late years, it is said, that the ideas entertained by Stukeley and others, on the subject of ancient remains of this class, have been adopted by our neighbours across the water; one of whom has written an account of Carnac, explaining it to his countrymen on these principles; which may lead to greater attention being paid to such monuments in France.

In Greece, Egypt, and Asia Minor, there are scarcely any traces of dracontine temples, and the form of so building religious edifices can never have prevailed there to great extent. However, the fable of the Serpent Python, which is described by the poets as covering many acres of ground, is supposed by some to imply that a large serpentine temple existed at Delphi, in Phocis, in Greece: and a passage in Pausanias, respecting a place in Bœotia, might almost pass for a description of the Haken at Abury as it was in Stukeley's time; and there is every reason to presume related to some structure of a dracontine nature. It is as follows: "In the road between Thebes and Glisas you may see a place encircled by select stones, which the Thebans call the Serpent's head." (Pausanias, as quoted by Mr. Deane, p. 346, and by Sir R. C. Hoare, in his *History of Wiltshire*.)

#### STONES OF MEMORIAL.

Only a portion of the ancient megalithic monuments which pass under this name apply to the Druids, but it is necessary to treat of all the various kinds in order duly to set forth the subject. We must commence by saying that the Welch call them *Meine-Gwyr*, or *Maen-hir*; plural, *Meine-hirion*. They appear to have been put up in early times in the form of rude pillars or obelisks, for almost every possible purpose; for boundaries (*Genesis*, xxxi, 52, *Joshua*, xv, 6); for remembrance of some particular fact (*Genesis*, xxviii, 18, *Joshua*, iv, 10); or of some particular person (II *Samuel*, xviii, 18); for sepulchral purposes (*Genesis*, xxxv, 20); and even, as it is said, to be objects of idolatry (*Leviticus*, xxvi, 1, in the margin). In short, their uses were very various. One of them is sometimes found as an accompaniment to other Druidical structures; as the circle, or the cromlech. Mr. Hamper, of Birmingham, published, in the year 1820, a Dissertation on such of these

pillars as were intended for boundaries ; or, rather, he seems too sweepingly to have concluded that they all were of this description. It is entitled *Observations on Certain Pillars of Memorial called Hoar Stones*, 4to, Birmingham, pp. 27 ; and, with the limitation as above, contains much information.

So far Mr. Hamper is right, that stones of memorial, when unconnected with cromlechs or circles, have probably been most frequently placed for boundaries, and, if they are near any remarkable bounds or limits, may generally be safely reputed so. The following passage in Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine and Arabia*, 8vo, 1841, may be thus explained. It is as follows :—" Another object near our tent also excited our curiosity—a block of Sienite red granite, the fragment of a large circular stone, partly buried in the earth. It was about two feet thick, and the chord of the fragment measured five and a half feet ; the diameter of the stone, when whole, could not have been less than eight or ten feet. The circular edge was full of small round holes or indentations. Just by are the remains of a circular foundation, on which it, perhaps, once laid.

" What could have been the purpose of this stone, or whence it was brought, we could not divine. It had every appearance of the Egyptian Sienite ; and, if such were its origin, it could only have been transported hither across the plain of Esdraelon, and so along the Ghor."

This appears to have been no other than the stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben, *Joshua*, xv, 6, and xviii, 17 ; the boundary stone between the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, mentioned by ancient writers, but not before noticed by any modern. However, as the tribe of Reuben had no possession on this side the river, it was probably, in the first instance, put up, as some kind of memorial, by Bohan ; or, otherwise, had been, anterior to his time, an idol of Agabalus, or the Sun, with the descriptions of which it much coincides.

In Scotland there are instances of these pillars rather varied. At Aberlemno, near Brechin, are five, called the Danish Stones ; said to have been erected by the Scots, in commemoration of victories obtained over the Danes. They are insculptured with bas reliefs of horsemen, emblematical figures, and hieroglyphics. Near Forres, in Morayshire, is a stately pillar, of one stone, twenty-three feet above ground, and twelve or fifteen below it, the entire length, consequently,

nearly forty feet. It has a great variety of figures insculptured thereon. (See *Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale*.) These, of course, come into the class of stones of memorial, which we have mentioned are not Druidical, but are noticed for illustration.

### ROCK IDOLS.

What are so called are generally very rude blocks, somewhat like busts, but without proper form or features. One such may have been at Chiddingstone, in Kent, near Tunbridge, where, in a farm-yard, is a rude mass of rock, not unlikely for the purpose. (See vol. ii of Grose's *Antiquities*, where is an engraving of it.) On somewhat better foundation, another is supposed to exist on Rusthall Common, near Tunbridge Wells, called the "Toad Rock." This is rather of a grotesque shape, and is engraved in Stackhouse's *Remains of Ancient Pagan Britain*, 8vo, 1833, pl. 11.

### LOGAN STONES.

These are ponderous stones on the poise, some of which weigh a hundred tons, or more. The circumstance of a rock detached from the side of a mountain, and becoming accidentally balanced where it fell, perhaps, first suggested this device; afterwards the Druids had great skill in forming them artificially. At Walton, in Lancashire, were five so contiguous, that by touching one the motion might be communicated to all the rest. It has been suggested that Logan stones were used as ordeals, and that there was some secret means, by introducing a pebble or otherwise, of stopping the motion when it was wished.

We may mention here a remarkable instance of the kind in the parish of St. Levan, Cornwall, near Trerryn Castle. It is a rock on the top of a high promontory jutting out into the sea, and its estimated weight is eighty-five tons. About the year 1824 it was wantonly thrown of its balance by a lieutenant of the Coast Guard, but public indignation being excited, he replaced the rock by mechanical means; however, not so perfectly as it was before, as it now only moves by a person's back being set against it, and much force applied, instead of yielding to the touch of the finger as previously to its being displaced.

## TOLMEN STONES.

These are perforated rocks, or else having a passage made under them ; and use is supposed to have been made of these in performing a kind of charm on infirm persons, who passed through them, or were taken through, in expectation of receiving benefit.

## ORACULAR STONES.

These were another species of perforated rocks, in which persons might be concealed. The use is supposed to have been, as the name imports, for the delivery of pretended oracles. One is described in Mr. Rooke's paper on the Brimham rocks, in Yorkshire, in vol. viii of the *Archæologia*, published in 1787, and is engraved, plate xvi, fig. 7, of that volume.

## ALTARS.

Various flat stones of colossal size, lying in or near Druidical circles and other megalithic remains, are very commonly so denominated. For example, there is a stone reputed to be of this class at Stonehenge ; and the supposing the existence of altars of this kind seems very reasonable.

## CARNEDDS.

These, which are very large coped or domed heaps of stone, are in Scotland called cairns, and kerns in Ireland. In *Genesis*, xxxi, 46, Jacob is represented as forming a heap reputed of similar nature, on which himself and Laban ate and sacrificed ; and which was referred to as a witness of the agreement and peace made between them. This method of proceeding seems to have been common at the time, as each had his own name for it ; Jacob calling it Galeed, and Laban Jegar Sahadutha. From this passage, and also from rendering that other, in *Hosea*, xii, 11, "Their altars are *as* heaps in the furrows of the field," with a little variation, "*like the heaps*," etc., which sense he conceived the Hebrew word intended.\* Rowland, in his *Mona Antiqua*, was inclined to think the carnedds were

\* In this he is followed by Pareus, in his learned *Commentary on Hosea*, though it does not seem to agree with the reputed literal translation from the Hebrew, with the Targum of Jonathan, or with the version of the Seventy, given in that author ; nor is it so rendered in Luther's German translation, nor in the English Geneva Bible.

constructed for the purpose of sacrifices, especially for offering human victims, and mentions an instance where, in Anglesey, in a *carnedd*, the bones of three persons were found lying confusedly under the stones, with their heads downwards, as if they had been slaughtered there. However, as again other *carnedds* have been found to contain symptoms of mere common interments, as bones, urns, and sarcophagi, and others, again, altars, there seems in some measure to be evidence both for and against this learned writer.

There is a saying in Wales which is not without some sort of appearance of corroborating Rowland's opinion. It is used in expressing the ill-will of one to another. "*Carn ar dy wyneb*," i.e. may a *carnedd* be your monument. Richards, in his *Dictionary*, however, supposes that *carnedds*, which in pagan times might have been honourable sepulchres, on the introduction of Christianity, became infamous, and were only used for the interment of malefactors. Certain it is, that the word *carnedd* has a very bad repute in Wales, as they say "*carn leidr*," a notorious thief, etc. etc. In Scripture, *carnedds* seem to have had both a good and a bad acceptation, having been used for altars and heaps of testimony in treaties of peace, as also raised as marks of infamy; as the *carnedd* over Achan, *Joshua*, vii, 25, and that over Absalom, ii *Samuel*, xxiii, 17. The use of them, therefore, seems to have been various, according to the Scripture mention of them. Indeed, it may be noted, that there is even a set-off to their ill-repute in Wales; for, though the sinister expressions are connected with them, to which allusion has been made, it is also said, in the way of friendship and kind regard, "I will cast a stone on thy cairn."

Of *carnedds* it is said, in the *Cambrian Register*, 1796, p. 382, that a very large stone is placed endways within ten, twenty, or fifty yards of each of them, and that where such stones are wanting they have been converted to other uses. This may be very true; but there is great reason to suppose that the same remark would equally apply to many *cromlechs* and Druidical circles; the pillar-stone being so common an appendage. We are also informed that some of the Welch *carnedds* contain a subterranean recess or room, others only a stone chest.

#### CROMLECHS.

A *cromlech* is a very different monument of antiquity from what have been just before described, and makes a much

nearer approach to regular architecture. The definition of it is, a flat colossal stone, supported generally about seven feet from the ground, on rude stone pillars, or else by flat side stones, of a similar nature with the covering stone, except being smaller; or with side stones and pillars mixed. When it is mentioned that the superficial measurement of the flat top stones often amounts to 140 or 150 feet, and their weight to twenty or thirty tons, an idea may be formed of the efforts of the early race of men in constructing them; however, they do not all, by any means, come up to the above standard, though some, indeed, much exceed it. After an accurate examination of various passages in ancient authors, and a predilection to no theory, the general purpose of them in these pages will be considered as originally sepulchral. We may consider them to have been, on a great scale, the prototypes of the sarcophagi of the Egyptians, and the altar-tombs of the moderns. The following authorities may throw some light on the question.

Wormius, a learned Danish antiquarian writer of the 16th century, in his *Monumenta Danica*, mentions the burial of Harold, one of their kings, in a cromlech; and that such was the purpose of these structures may be gathered from his works, though he is inclined to invert the order, which the reader will find in the present work is considered, on the whole, to be best supported, of their having been tombs first and altars afterwards, but supposes, instead, the contrary. Bartholinus, an author of rather later date, does not seem much to differ from him, in his *Antiquitates Danicæ*. Mr. Wise, in his *Berkshire Antiquities*, p. 35, reputes the Danish prince, who fell at the battle of Ashdown, to be buried under the cromlech, near at hand, called the Wayland Smith, from a consideration of what was done in like cases, from ancient authorities. Snorro, who wrote the *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*, and died 1241, describes thus the burial of king Harold—"In medio tumuli sepultus est rex Haraldus, disposito utrinque lapide juxta caput pedesque, ac superimpositâ sepulchrali petrâ: aggestis etiam ad latera lapidibus minoribus." (Keysler, from Snorro's *Antiquitates Selectæ Septentrionales et Celticæ*, p. 101.) That is, in English, King Harold was buried in the middle of the tumulus, with a stone at his head and at his feet, and the sepulchral stone being laid over him, and lesser stones being placed at the sides. It must be

admitted that there is here something described which much resembles the species of cromlech termed a kistvaen, *i.e.* that kind which has flat sides. If the description does not quite correspond, the lateness of the date may be taken into account, which may have occasioned some variation in the mode of sepulture. In England bodies have been found under cromlechs of the kistvaen kind, as one, a few years since, under that of Malfra, near Penzance. Popular tradition and opinion also go to this effect; and the sepulchral use of cromlechs receives great confirmation from the ancient poem, entitled "Beddau Milwyr Ynys Brydain," reputed to be written by the noted Taliesin, who flourished in the sixth century, wherein one of the stanzas or triplets records that the grave of Ebediw, the warrior, was to be seen on Glydar Mountain, in Carnarvonshire, where is actually a very remarkable cromlech, which in every probability was the monument alluded to by the bard. His verses are—

"Piau y bêdd yn y Glydar  
(Tra bu, ni fu Eiddilwyr)  
Bêdd Ebediw am Maelwyr."

The researches made of late years by Mr. Lukis, in the interiors of the kistvaen-cromlechs of the Channel Islands, which are published in the early volumes of the Journals of the British Archæological Association, undoubtedly show numerous interments. The point, therefore, seems pretty clear of such use, nor can it be well denied that there is every appearance that a great portion of them were constructed solely for such purpose. If it be admitted, however, that kistvaen-cromlechs were solely sepulchral, according to the original intention of the constructors, there is a singularity to be accounted for—why, unlike sarcophagi, they have always one of their sides open? and it must be allowed that, supposing them originally to have been altars, this arrangement may have been less unsuitable for such a purpose, and the open side may have been retained when these colossal cists were formed to receive the bodies of the dead. There may have been other reasons, certainly; but if such existed, they are not obvious in these later times.

Our own hypothesis, it must be borne in mind, is, that they were in their origin sepulchres, and afterwards became altars as well, and in length of time were used indifferently for both purposes. The idea commonly entertained in times

of antiquity of tombs, being haunted by the spirits of the dead, would, in the first instance, have given rise to libations and offerings to them, which might, possibly, afterwards have been extended to the dedicating these structures to various divinities of pagan mythology. In regard to cromlechs solely on pillars, modern researches, it is believed, have scarcely at all illustrated them; and researches of old date, as far as they have come down to us, seem to show that rarely, or scarce ever, interments have been found in them. One of the most celebrated of them, Koeten Arthur, in Glamorganshire, stands over a fountain or spring; therefore, their origin seems still to require some further illustration.

Among Mr. Lukis's discoveries there was one extremely singular. In opening a cluster of kistvaens at Du Tus, in Guernsey, in a small side one of the number, when the earth was removed, two skeletons were found, which had been placed on their knees, and buried in that posture back to back, having no doubt been put to death at the interment of a chieftain, buried in one of the principal kistvaens of the group. (See the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, for 1846, vol. i, p. 25.) Two skeletons, similarly placed, but described as sitting, have been lately found in opening a tumulus, at Plas Heaton, in Denbighshire, supposed to have been captives or slaves, sacrificed to the person buried there. (See the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, for January 1851.) Mr. Lukis's discovery, however, rather advances the view here maintained than otherwise; for, under the idea that the spirits of the deceased were so implacable, it might be presumed that the surviving relations would have made continual sacrifices to them, which would lead to their becoming altars.

We may now give the opinions of some eminent persons, of times passed, on kistvaens and cromlechs, which are but little invalidated by modern discoveries, and must always command our respect. Those we cite, as the best representations of former as well as present opinions on our subject, are the Danish antiquary Wormius, to whom we have before referred; Dr. Borlase, the historian of Cornwall; and Sir Richard Colt Hoare. We will accordingly take them in their order.

Wormius, though regarding cromlechs burying-places, as we have seen, still supposed sacrifices were performed upon them; and when three stand together, as they generally do in Denmark, then he thought they were offered up to



Thor, Woden, and Frea, the three chief divinities; but if one stood singly, in that case to the individual who was buried there. If he be correct in this, his supposition would perhaps apply equally well to the cromlechs in England as those in his own country; for though he is speaking of the ancient Scandinavians, and not of the Druids, we may satisfy ourselves, unless we give full and unreserved credence to the passage of Origen and that in Cæsar, that the superstition of the Druids and those of other nations of the north of Europe, did not greatly vary.

The passage in Wormius is as follows: "The structure of our altars is various. Usually three huge stones on a tumulus support a fourth of still greater bulk, and broader, and flatter. Underneath is a cavity: considerable in some; in others filled up with stones and earth. This was to receive the blood of the victims. It is seldom that you will not find in these places flints for striking fire; for only with fire kindled by this means the victims were to be consumed.

"In many places you will find them constructed with several additional features. A row of lesser stones or rocks encircles the foot of the tumulus, and another row like a crown, the top. You will seldom find one by itself; but more often three together, with a small space between, erected in honour of the three principal idols of the country. Where there is one only, it was generally placed over a sepulchre, that sacred rites might be performed every year to the memory of the deceased. Of this nature there is a noted one in Zealand, near the highway to the village of Bircke. Three hillocks, or tumuli, are placed within an oblong area formed of rows of rocks of the smaller size. The largest in the centre has an altar at the top constructed of four immense stones, of which three of them support the fourth, which is a flat one, and the largest." (*Monumenta Danica*, folio, 1643, pp. 7, 8.) In a subsequent page he quotes Ubbo Emmius, historian of Friesland, a prior writer by about forty years, in corroboration of their being altars.

Dr. Borlase, a judicious and accurate writer, than whom perhaps no one had greater opportunities of seeing numerous specimens of this class of antiquities, somewhat coincides. He thought that cromlechs were at first sepulchral; that they were places where sacrifices were performed to the shrines of the dead, or festivals celebrated to their honour; but that

they did not serve for altars for burnt offerings or other sacrifices, but only as Kiblas, or places towards which they turned in worshipping, he employed various arguments to show that the use of them was sepulchral, among which, was one, that they are sometimes found mounted upon barrows or tumuli; from which, however, some drew a contrary conclusion, as those barrows may be supposed to have their own sunken kistvaen, or repository for the dead.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare is chiefly noted for holding the opinion that kistvaens, that is cromlechs with sides, are sepulchres, and that those structures which should properly be styled cromlechs, namely, such of them as are formed with pillars, are altars. He gives an example of five kistvaens placed in a circle, and a cromlech in the centre. Bones were found under each of the kistvaens, but none under the cromlech. He is perhaps judicious in supposing that there was some difference in the destination between cromlechs on pillars and kistvaens. But it may be objected that some cromlechs have partly pillars, and partly flat sides. These, however, should be referred to the kistvaen class, and considered such; regarding that in kistvaens, large ones especially, a pillar or pillars might have been introduced, because the flat stones were not found to be sufficiently large for the sides.

Having thus made a few suggestions as to the origin and nature of cromlechs, in support of which, some eminent writers have been cited, and having referred to late discoveries, as affording no data to the contrary, we may proceed to various incidental remarks on the subject.

We have a rare instance, among the twenty or thirty cromlechs which exist in the Isle of Anglesea, of one of them being inscribed. It is not mentioned by Rowland, in his description of the island, nor, it is believed, is it so by recent writers, but is recorded in the *History of Anglesea*, 4to, 1775, published anonymously as a supplement to Rowland's account. The cromlech in question is noticed at page 43 of this work as situated in the parish of Newburgh, a small market town at the southern angle of the island; and the inscription is *FILIVS VLRICI EREXIT HUNC LAPIDEM*.

It is very certain that many cromlechs of the kistvaen species have been discovered in the centre of tumuli entirely covered over with earth. We may mention one instance

which is more remarkable, as the cromlech must be regarded as one of the most considerable specimens of this kind. We may allude to the Malfra cromlech, in the parish of Madron, Cornwall, and half a mile distant from another noted object of this kind, called the Lanyon Quoit. From time immemorial the site of this ancient relic had only appeared a low eminence, and its subterranean contents were not suspected. It was not till a hundred cart-loads of earth had been taken away in 1801 or 1802, that the supporters first appeared. To make short the narrative of the opening, which will be found in vol. xiv of the *Archæologia*, on digging underneath, in the centre a broken urn was found, with many ashes, and, deeper still, a skull and thigh-bones lying in such a promiscuous disordered state as fully proved the grave had been opened before. The character of this cromlech seemed to be that of the kistvaen species, though it had a pillar on one side, along with a side-stone. The covering stone had slipped off backwards, and rested on the support of the back.

There is, however, a still more remarkable instance, which was mentioned at the Archæological Congress at Canterbury, in the year 1844. It was there stated that, in a field in the North of Ireland, there are now several cromlechs standing, which a few years ago were only tumuli; the transformation having been effected by the farmer carting away the mould to manure the land. From this fact many entertained the idea that all cromlechs, at their first formation, were heaped over with earth; so that a large tumulus was made, of which the cromlech became the centre.

Indeed it may be collected from this, that some cromlechs, or groups of cromlechs, when they were made, or at some time after they were made, were covered over and converted into tumuli, the doing so being governed by some considerations which are to us unknown, *i.e.*, either because no further interment was intended in the cromlech, or cromlechs, or to conceal the interments for fear of desecration. It even might have been done by the descendants of the persons interred, after some considerable interval. At the same time as some of the cromlechs, as Mr. King observes, in his *Munimenta*, are constructed with great mechanical skill and contrivance, and as some, from their position, seem intended to be conspicuous, so it may be concluded that many of these ancient monuments were not originally covered over.

It has been mentioned that cromlechs exist in foreign parts, a few instances may accordingly be noticed. There certainly appear to be some very remarkable specimens in France, as may appear by the following, which we may cite :—

One is thus described in a geographical work :—“Half a league distant from the gates of Poitiers, is a stone of prodigious bigness ; it is supported by four pillars, and is twenty-five feet long and seventeen broad, on all its four sides.” (Bowen’s *Geography*, fol. 1747, vol. i, p. 371.) In another work the same antiquity appears thus to be described :—“Not far from Poitiers, on the high road to Angoulême, a stone of an enormous size is to be seen, known by the name of “La Pierre Levée,” or the Raised Stone, which is thought to have been an altar consecrated to Mercury. In the little town of Montmorillon are the remains of a temple of the Druids, engraved in Montfaucon’s *Antiquities*.” (Reichard’s *Guide de Voyageurs*, 12mo, Weimar, 1813, vol. ii, p. 149.) Some considerable monuments of this kind are likewise mentioned in another work, but the narrator merely speaks of them from verbal information. He describes them thus :—“Two dolmens (cromlechs are so called in France) or Druidical tables are in the environs of Saumur. That of Bagneux is seven feet high under the table, fifty-eight feet long, and twenty-one broad. That of Riou, near the former, is not so considerable, but is at the top of a hill.” (*Memoires d’un Touriste*, 8vo, Paris, 1838, vol. i, p. 419.)

In Germany there are also some objects of this kind. One is mentioned at Albersdorf, near Gruendal, in Holstein, noted from the circumstance that the country people were formerly accustomed to offer sacrifices there before entering into the state of matrimony ; and before ploughing the fields. (Downe’s *Letters from Mecklenburg*, 8vo, 1822, p. 203.) There also appears to be a cromlech of considerable dimensions near Trent. (See Wright’s *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 493, engraved vol. i, p. 313.) Even in India we find the cromlech. One is represented in Mrs. Graham’s *Journal in India*, 4to, 1813, which is not unfrequently copied in various works, and is taken from Colonel Mackenzie’s drawings of Indian Antiquities.

We find that in ancient times there were stone monuments which greatly resembled cromlechs, though apparently not the same thing, called “Tables of the Sun.” We may say a few words respecting them, on account of their resemblance.

The holy Scriptures, Herodotus, Pomponius Mela, and other sources, mention tables spread forth with offerings to heathen deities. In *Isaiah*, lxxv, 2, is the following passage, which we may thus render from the Septuagint, and our common version is not very different:—"But ye who forsake me and forget my holy mountain, and prepare for the Demon a table, and fill for Fortune a drink offering, I will give you up to the sword." The two deities in the Septuagint version styled the Demon and Fortune, in our version the Troop and Number, are in the original Hebrew Gad and Meni, names not certainly known. Herodotus, book iii, c. 18, speaks of what he calls a Table of the Sun in Ethiopia, which was in that instance a spreading forth in a meadow in the suburbs of a city: roasted meats of every sort being nightly supplied, which all in the morning might eat. He also mentions the two golden tables of Jupiter Belus. Pomponius Mela informs us of a most noted Table of the Sun, which Spartian says the Emperor Severus was taken to see. Here we may observe, we have nothing in particular to identify these objects, which are called tables, with cromlechs; no mention that they were ponderous masses of stone; but some seem to have imagined them the same.

Respecting the antiquity of the appellation, "cromlech," and its derivation. The assertion has been made of late years that the word, in its present acceptance and application, was invented by Rowland, author of the *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, and that it is not to be found before his time in the sense he uses it: nor indeed is it shown to the contrary in anything that has been published on the subject. But admitting that the word as now received is at present only traceable in Rowland's work, and that we cannot ascertain from what source he takes it, still it does not appear that he invented it, as he takes some pains to give its derivation as a thing known. The opinion of Dr. Owen Pughe corroborates the idea, who thought the word but a common term for the "Maen gorsedd," or chief stone of the assembly, *i. e.* circle. Consequently it may be inferred that he knew of no ancient written authority for it, but adopted the word as he found it in colloquial use in Anglesea. Admitting this position, we may now briefly advert to its probable derivation.

Rowland was inclined to derive it from the Hebrew, thinking the name so ancient that it was disseminated even from the first dispersion of mankind. (See his *Mona Antiqua*,

4to, 1723, p. 47.). But it may be judged that he has no foundation for this, except the great analogy which many Hebrew words are known to have to the Celtic. Therefore, it may be allowable to dissent from him, and rather to resort to the ancient British language, or, that being not now extant, more properly speaking, to the modern Welsh. In this we have *crom*, feminine of *crwm*, in the sense of inclined, and *llech*, a flat stone. This seems sufficiently near and satisfactory, according to grammatical construction, though the transposition being considered, often so noticeable in etymological derivations, it is not impossible that the import might have been "stone to worship," or bend down before.

Thus in the foregoing pages some general remarks have been submitted on the ancient stone monuments usually called Druidical, consisting of circles, dracontine temples, cromlechs, etc., and endeavours have been made to give the most accurate views regarding these objects. Stukeley was the first who attempted detailed explanations of them, above a century since; and it must be confessed, notwithstanding he occasionally committed himself, by too much confidence, yet, as time has progressed, and more particular investigations have been made in various parts of the world, his discoveries have been for the greater part confirmed, and by no means disproved.

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NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS  
OF  
ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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BOOK III.

HISTORIES, CHRONICLES, STONE MONUMENTS, ETC.

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CHAPTER III.

SPECULATIONS ON VARIOUS POINTS CONNECTED WITH THE ANCIENT  
BRITISH CHRONICLES OR HISTORIES.

ARTHUR AND THE BARDS.—The Dumnonian kingdom after having enjoyed the sovereignty paramount of Britain with no very considerable interval for above a century, lost it, as we have seen in a former part of the present work, after the death of Constantine the Third; and no more recovered it. The sovereignty, which departed from this line, became vested in the Princes of North Wales. With this change of dynasty the bards seem to have deserted Dumnonia, and congregated round the Venedotian kings and nobles. This may account for the deeds of Arthur and Uther Pendragon not being transmitted to us in a more definite shape. The bards becoming disconnected with the Dumnonian kingdom, seem to have made more freely the story of its two celebrated leaders a subject of fiction; and the Middle Age writers of romance complicated the matter, in removing such semblance of truth as remained, and making the accounts wholly visionary.

THEORY OF BARDISM.—The bards are very universally considered to have been an inferior order of Druids. This is indeed disallowed by none. They are considered to have acted as minstrels, poets, and attendants, in various ways, on the Druids of the higher order; though a portion of them certainly attended the courts of the various reigning chiefs and reguli. This state of things subsisted down to the time of the Roman conquest, when the Druids were compelled to quit precipitantly all parts of the island under Roman sway, on account of the intolerance of the Romans to this mode of worship; founded, as alleged, on their abhorrence of the offering up of human victims by the Druids. The bards, at the same time, with their superiors, were driven from Britain.

The Romans thus had an opportunity of assimilating, as much as the difference of circumstances would admit, the social condition of Britain to their own system. As to the Druids and Bards thus expelled, Ireland and Caledonia received them (see Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, 4to, 1723, pp. 79, 100, 107); and undoubtedly the Celtic literature of the day departed with the Bards and Druids. In Caledonia we can point out no very early relics of it, *i.e.*, from the first to the fifth centuries, that country being evidently too much the theatre of constant hostilities. In Ireland they probably formed the first rudiments of those Chronicles which afterwards became so multifarious. The first rude materials we can only suppose were in the shape of Genealogies in verse, laudatory poems addressed to chiefs; or poetical compositions which recorded their acts. (See the *Irish Nennius*, pp. 126, 220 and 370.)

We are not informed to what extent the Druids and Bards thus located in the sister isle maintained communications with Britain, on the decline of the Roman empire and resumption of power by the Britons: but in the fifth century Ireland had become Christian, as also its Druids, in their various gradations. At least they conformed. For some centuries after this period literature seems to have flourished extremely in Ireland. Bards and historiographers were very numerous at the courts of their kings (see p. 248); particular privileges were granted to those who studied letters, which, in the sixth century, became so onerous to the rest of the community, that, according to Keating, a parliament was held at Dromceat, principally for the purpose of abridging them; which seems to have been accordingly done. Now, considering the rather central situations of Ireland with regard to the Dumnonian kingdom, Wales and Caledonia, and viewing Ireland as a focus of Celtic literature at this time, there would appear great reason for supposing that the Bardism which began to be so frequent in Britain in the fifth, sixth, and following centuries, had its origin from Ireland, and that Taleisin, Aneurin, Llowarch Hen, and others, derived their poetical proficiency and taste from that quarter. The late learned and eminent Celtic scholar Edward Davies, in his work entitled *The Claims of Ossian*, 8vo, 1825, has shown in several parts of it, that the Bards of the sister isle frequented Caledonia, and that the originals of the poems of



Ossian were essentially Irish. He informs us that Macpherson, the editor, altered these poems in many places, and published them as Gaelic and not Erse, though he was conscious that the fact was otherwise. This he considers occasioned his embarrassment which he manifested in declining to produce the manuscripts of these poems; and was, in reality, the cause which drew down upon him the censures of Dr. Johnson, and of other critics of the day.

By the above views light is thrown on the productions of our own British Bards, which seem to be redolent with the ideas and dogmas of Druidism, though at the date of the poems of Aneurin and Taliesin, Christianity had prevailed in Britain for several centuries. Worn out as it was, they retained it conventionally in their compositions; appearing to think that its fictions and imagery worked up well in poetry. This is a parallel case with the reception of classic mythology among modern writers. Even down to the present times heathen mythology may be found introduced in works of imagination, the same as if really existing. The poet invokes Phœbus, Diana, Pan, and other deities; meaning nothing by it all the time. There is likewise a further parallelism to be suspected. As we find the moderns frequently err in what they imagine the details of classic mythology, the same may have been the case with the Bards and their Druidism. At any rate, thus dealing in a defunct superstition; entering, indeed, but little on topics unconnected with their favourite mythology, and being at all times very mystical and obscure, the less fact can be extracted from them, and their value is proportionably diminished.

ABURY AND STONEHENGE, THEIR DATE.—The general view of the stone monuments of Britain, taken by Dr. Stukeley, Mr Edward King, and other eminent persons, *i.e.*, that they were connected with the worship of the Druids; always excepting a portion of them as sepulchral or as stones of memorial, seems to be formed on sufficiently accurate grounds. It is very true there are dissentients to the opinion, but their ideas do not appear grounded on so good arguments as are adopted by those who advocate the other side of the question, and, while raising objections, their own views seem liable to still greater. They advert to the silence of antiquity on the subject; and to the Druids being mentioned in connection with their groves, and not with stone monuments. Antiquity

is indeed silent, except as to the mention of tables of the sun, which might have been cromlechs, and a few passages in ancient authors, which may possibly have an allusion to the subject. But were the silence complete, it could not be wholly relied upon; and if the Druids chiefly resorted to the forests, the stone temples, arranged in a serpentine form and the stone circle, would be no incompatible adjuncts to them, but rather naturally afforded by many sylvan localities. The silence of antiquity or quasi-silence certainly might not have been expected, but stone monuments may have been included with the forest and its contents, and Pliny and others, in describing the assemblies of the Druids, neither mention how the sacred spots were prepared for their reception; nor do they say that the Druids had not sacred places set out and bounded by colossal stones; nor do they assert that they were without temples, or quasi-temples, of any kind. It is not to be believed but that their sacred places were not set out by bounds, marks, or inclosures of some sort; if so, why not by colossal stones; and if by colossal stones, why may not dracontine temples, formed in this way, be realities? and why may not stone circles, which we find in abundance, have been places also connected originally with their mysteries?

The above views seem to be the true key to explain many striking stone monuments in this and other countries. Stonehenge, Abury, Carnac, Stanton Drew, Classerness, and other like temples of magnitude, as well as the stone circles before alluded to, minor in dimensions, and cromlechs. Many of these last, both circles and cromlechs, now detached objects, there is reason to believe were originally constructed with avenues formed with blocks of stone or other megalithic works connected with them, at present not existing; the destruction of these ancient monuments having been extensive and rapid, down to the present time. Fully convinced of the rectitude of the above general idea of the subject, one or two remarks may be now briefly entered upon, chiefly as to the date of Abury and Stonehenge, intended indeed merely to limit, apply, and define prior received views somewhat more correctly than has been done before.

Of Abury we have given at a preceding page a somewhat detailed description, setting forth its greater and lesser circles, its avenues, snake's head, etc. etc., and this temple, it must be

remembered, is formed of large blocks of stone in their natural state, from seventeen feet high down to much less dimensions. They are unwrought by tools, which is not the case with the other great Druidical monument of the island.

Stonehenge is a circle, once composed of thirty enormous stone pillars of the height of about twenty-two feet, including the part set in the ground. These have architraves or lintels at the top, and within them is a circle of smaller stones. Within these again, placed in an ellipse are, or rather were, seven pairs of somewhat larger stones and their lintels. These inclosed the interior small circle, and the flat altar-stone.

Now, it is well known that common opinion gives a higher antiquity to Abury than to Stonehenge, which there is every reason to consider is the correct supposition. At Abury, as we have said, the stones are merely rude blocks in their natural state. At Stonehenge they were squared and shaped by tools to the varying breadths of six or seven feet, that is the larger ones, with a thickness of about three. Therefore, this structure is considered to belong to an age in which the using of rough unshapen stones could be no longer endured. By common consent this seems to be regarded a correct mode of reasoning on this subject.

Abury is not to be considered as the structure of any ancient British sovereign, but to have been formed by the general body of Druids of the island acting in concert ; for they, as it has been before observed, were an independent body, and certainly had more power to procure this great work to be constructed than any of the British kings. As to the part of Britain in which these structures were situated, Cæsar informs us, in his *Commentaries* (*Gaulish Wars*, vi, 13), that the Druids communicated much with Gaul ; and in regard to this, Stonehenge and Abury being in the kingdom of the British Belgæ, were situated in a part of the kingdom adjacent to Gaul ; indeed as contiguous it would appear as could be selected, consistent with finding the requisite material. This, therefore, brings these monuments in connection with Gaul ; and in particular with Gallia Celtica, which is more especially mentioned by Cæsar, (*Gaulish Wars*, vi, 13), as the seat of Druidism on the Continent. The connection between the Druids of Gaul and those of Britain already existed in Cæsar's time : thus we may readily give a date to Abury of at least a century before Christ, which is as near an approximation as

perhaps we may attempt. We may add, that Abury may be regarded to have been constructed for a temple, and also for a place of assembly.

Of Stonehenge we have a professed record, such as it is, of the time of its construction ; but it is one which nearly leaves the subject as open for discussion as it was before, being merely a statement in the *British Chronicle* of Tysilio, and repeated in that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and by other chronicles. It is to the effect, that it was raised by the British king Aurelius Ambrosius, to the memory of the Britons killed by the Saxons at this place ; of which we have before given an account at a former page.

This massacre, if it took place, must, from collateral circumstances, have occurred about the year 473. The overthrow of the Saxons in these quarters, was certainly not till some years afterwards, and then further contests and struggles ensued with them in other directions ; and a civil war between Aurelius Ambrosius and one of his own subordinate princes, so that the embellishment of Stonehenge with its features of grandeur, must have been delayed for some years. We may endeavour to show the order in which the subsequent events occurred, by the following dates, collected from the *Saxon Chronicle*, or Nennius, or otherwise ascertained, which may enable us to assign the correct time for the origin of the present structure :—

- A. D. 477. Ella lands at Cymenes Ore, in Sussex.
- 485. Battle of Mercredeshurne, in the same quarter.
- 487. Victory at Maes Beli, in Yorkshire.
- 490. Ochta and Ebissa, conquered.
- 491. Anderida taken by the Saxons.
- 492. Battle of Mount Badon, or Bath.
- 493. Battle of Castle Guoloph in Westmoreland ; after which, the peace called the "Peace of Ambrosius" began, which, however, seems only to have lasted two years.

May it not, therefore, be better to entertain the opinion that the building of Stonehenge did not commence till the requisite pause in the hostilities took place, which it will be seen is placed in the year 493. The forming this structure is usually given earlier, but there is some corroboration and approximation in Matthew of Westminster, who assigns the event to the date of 490.

The year, then, 493 of the Christian era, seems the most

suitable to assign for the commencement of the work : and in reference to the point of its completion ; as there was probably an enthusiastic national feeling on this occasion, it might have been much expedited ; and it may be perhaps not too much to suppose, that this grand structure might have been finished before the expiration of the year 495.

But there was a circle, or something of the kind, here before ; for it was selected as a place for a general national feast on the kalends or first of May, when the outbreak took place with the Saxons, according to various bardic poems. The bards, in speaking of the event, call it the Cor, Cor Emmrys, etc. (See the *Poems* of Cuhelyn, Cynddelw, and others) ; and though Tysilio in his *History*, p. 116, has “the large plain of the Cymri, near Ambresbury,” and Geoffrey of Monmouth, vi. 15, has “at the Monastery of Ambrius,” there is probably no real discrepancy, the distance between Ambresbury and Stonehenge being not considerable ; and the supposition that there was a stone circle here before, and a place of assemblage, offers no great difficulty, as we shall presently see.

As to the legend of the stones brought from Ireland. The greatest part of those which compose Stonehenge are of the same kind as are plentifully found in the neighbourhood ; the stones of the interior circle, however, which are of a dark colour, are not found in the neighbourhood, nor does it appear known whence they were procured. Probably they were not obtained from Ireland ; but the idea may have originated from the circumstance that stone of a similar quality is found at Kildare. (See *Gentleman's Magazine*, for 1833, p. 453.)

In taking a review of the circumstances of the case connected with Stonehenge, it appears certain enough, that the Saxons, about twenty years after their first arrival, and a short period after the death of Vortimer, were reinforced sufficiently to recommence operations on a considerable scale, and gained some very great advantages. The *Saxon Chronicle* speaks of their great progress in the year 473 ; and the *British Chronicle* tells us that, after the slaughter of the feast, they took, among other places, London and Winchester. All this is extremely feasible ; both the two chronicles may be right. The Saxons may have about that time traversed Surrey and Hampshire to the confines of Wiltshire, and having entered upon preliminaries of peace, and a conference being in progress for final adjustments, a large party of them may have joined

in the festivities which, it is asserted, were accustomed to be celebrated by the Britons at Stonehenge on the kalends, or, in other words, on the 1st of May. If so, the Britons may have been slain within this very inclosure, then, without its colossal columns, and surrounded merely, we may suppose, with large blocks of stone like Abury. Such may have been its state then, but when the bards, some of whom lived many centuries afterwards, described the fray or alluded to it, by an easy error they may have spoken of Stonehenge, not in its original, but as in its improved state. There is no insuperable difficulty in crediting this. Regarding the sequel, as given in the chronicles; it is not incredible that the Britons may have become in their turn successful; that they may have retaken London and other lost positions, and driven the Saxons back to Kent. This is further confirmed, as from Henry of Huntingdon's *History*, and from other chronicles, the Britons appear to have held London thirty years after this, and Sarum for eighty and upwards, down to the year 552. Gildas, likewise, in his *History*, c. 26, speaks of a time of great prosperity enjoyed by the Britons about this period. Therefore there may have been a time when Aurelius Ambrosius, thinking the Saxons sufficiently repressed for the present, may have turned his thoughts to architecture, and added, as we have supposed, to the grandeur and magnificence of this place of assemblage. We may consider the improvements he made were these.

Supposing Stonehenge, before the improvements were made, to have been merely a stone circle, formed of large blocks of that material, and used as a place of assembly, for that part of Britain, Ambrosius may have profited by the discovery of some quarry, affording the stone in larger masses than could be before obtained; and thus may have had materials of sufficient dimensions for building the after-erected grand exterior colonnade; and the still grander one of the interior ellipse. It would have thus owed its present features of magnificence to him; and thus as a kind of second founder of the place, its origin may have been incorrectly ascribed to him.

The above is the conclusion at which we may briefly arrive, and there appears no great improbability in it. He may have sympathised in the loss of his countrymen, killed in the unhappy fray, whether accidental or designed, and buried near

this place, and been desirous to do honour to their memory by some great work.

The Triads, which are only to be considered as the debris of some ancient British history anterior to Tysilio's Chronicle, speak of him in connection with the origin of Stonehenge. In *Triad* 88, the building of the work of Emmrys is mentioned as one of the three great achievements of Britain. Of the other two, it is not certainly understood what the heaping of the pile of Cyvrangon implies, but the raising of the stone of the Cetti is now supposed to have been the formation of the cromlech of Coeten Arthur at Cevyn Bryn, near Caerleon, where indeed appears to have been, according to Mr. Williams's *Additional Triads*, 2 and 3, one of their later places of national convention, to which we shall have soon occasion to refer. See Mr. Williams's paper in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, for April, 1850, p. 102.

Regarding the appellation "Cor Emmrys," the name given by the Bards to Stonehenge, the proper interpretation of it is, the Quire of Ambrosius, which might be taken to imply either that Ambrosius had originally formed it as a place of worship for Christians, or had converted it into one. Respecting the name of Stonehenge, as styled by the Middle Age writers, "*Chorea gigantum*," literally the dance of Giants, it is merely a corruption of the former term. But when we come to the derivation and meaning of the Saxon name of the place, Stonehenge or Stanyngeſ, though stone is implied in the first syllable, yet, taking the whole word together and giving all due weight to the various theories advanced, the meaning of it seems highly uncertain, which is partly occasioned by its being generally supposed that the name embodies some colloquial idiom. On the whole "*Stone-hang*," *i.e.* hanging stones, alluding to the stone lintels raised up aloft, seems the best etymology.

The frequent mention of the Stonehenge tragedy, by the Welsh poets, even in times beyond the Norman conquest, seems to show it had made a deep and lasting impression. They speak of the structure of Stonehenge in mentioning these events, as under its second or improved state as before remarked, but in terms however so indefinite as not to add to what is known. Among the points they refer to is its fourfold inclosure, in which, as the inner circle is of very small stones, they probably include the surrounding fosse and vallum.

Further vicissitudes were, however, destined to await the Britons in these parts even in the days of Ambrosius. Their place of worship, and of Bardic and national Assemblies, was finished, as we have seen in all its grandeur, as there is reason to suppose, in the year 495. That same year Certic and Cynric, the Saxon leaders, landed in Hampshire, making the first commencement of the formidable West-Saxon kingdom. Another Saxon adventurer, Port, with his two sons, Beda and Megla, landed at Portsmouth, in the year 501; and though on both occasions the invaders were attacked with vigour and promptitude, by the neighbouring Britons, yet they from the first maintained their ground, and augmented, it should seem, by swarms of emigrants from Germany, spread themselves along the coast, and occupied the parts adjoining. The transactions in the early years of their occupation, with the exception of their respective landings, are not recorded; but in the year 504, Aurelius Ambrosius undertook a regular campaign against them, and they, on their part, did not neglect to obtain succours from their countrymen, already established to the Eastward. A furious battle ensued, which ended in the discomfiture of the Britons and death of Ambrosius (see p. 66); but peace was again adjusted between the parties. The following dates will show, however, how critical the state of the Britons in these parts soon became.

A.D. 510. Certic Stuff and Whitgar land at Certicsore; supposed to have been in Southampton Water, in the vicinity of Calshot Castle.

A.D. 519. Battle between the Saxons and Britons, the locality supposed in the north of Hampshire, the Saxons commanded by Certic and Cynric.

A.D. 527. Another battle between the Saxons and Britons, supposed in the same parts.

A.D. 530. The Saxons take the Isle of Wight.

A.D. 552. The Saxons take Sarum.

Now it forms the best comment on the critical position in which the place of convention, the "Circle of Britannia," was involved, to state that several of these battles are believed to have been fought within a few miles of it. Indeed, Paulus Diaconus says that Aurelius was killed on Salisbury Plain. Could then the Britons have continued to hold their annual meetings there, and the assemblies of their bards, within its precincts, without extreme risk? The answer appears to be



that they could not. There is therefore a great antecedent probability, that from the year 504 to the year 552, when they were driven from Sarum to the parts of the kingdom further westward, they sought some other place of convention, where they could assemble in greater security. We find corroboration of this; and may cite, in support of these views, the supplementary *Triads*, published by Mr. Williams, in 1840, which we may also further notice at a subsequent page. *Triads* 2 and 3 of these are as follows:—

2. “The three chief Conventions of the isle of Britain (are) the Convention of Bryn Gwyddon, at Caerleon upon Uske; the Convention of Moel Evwr; and the Convention of Beiscawen.”

3. “The three Conventions of perfect song of the isle of Britain; the Convention of Beiscawen, in Dyvnwal; the Convention of Caer Caradawc, in Lloegria; and the Convention of Bryn Gwyddon, in Cymmr.”

Of these, *Triad* 3 appears to refer to those critical later times of the Britons, of which we have been speaking, when their public assemblies were necessitated to be held within the inclosure of a fortress, and when Caer Caradoc, or Sarum, was selected for the purpose. Moel Evwr, of the second *Triad*, or Mount Evwr, is apparently the same place; as the term Moel or hill applies better to Sarum, than to Abury, Stonehenge, or Ambresbury.

As for the name Caer Caradoc, Old Sarum, it was probably first fortified, under the Dumnonian dynasty, by some potentate of that appellation, which it seems was not uncommon among them. (See Chattaway's *History of the Dumnonii*, pp. 96 and 98.)

HISTORICAL WORKS, OF MEDIEVAL DATE, RELATING TO THE ANCIENT BRITONS, WHICH ARE NOW LOST.—The inquiries in the present pages have shown that many works relating to ancient Britain must formerly have existed, which are not at present forthcoming; we may now speak of them collectively. It will form a full and complete answer to those who, from mistaking a passage in the *De Excidio* of Gildas, think that the Britons had no historical literature extant at the period mentioned by that writer of the sixth century.

We may observe, as a species of preliminary, that there is a reputed lost *History* of Gildas. Such a history is frequently affirmed to have existed, but all endeavours to trace the

reality of this fact, as will be seen in former pages, are entirely fruitless.

I. We must begin then with the document from which the *Triads* were taken. In the Welch *Triads* we have a history broken up, not into questions and answers, not dissected, abridged, or commented upon, but disconnected as to chronology, and the particulars relating to various epochs collected into paragraphs of three members, each paragraph alluding to three personages, or three events of history, as nearly similar as possible; no narrative being given, or rather none further than to point out the characteristic features of the three personages, things, or events, which are classified together.

It is easy to see, from indications afforded by the *Triads*, what the tenour of the original history must have been. As there are two lines of ancient British story pointed out by Nennius in his *History*, c. 17, namely, the descent from Æneas, and that from Hû or Hysichion, so it is evident the ancient history of which we now speak adopted the latter. It gave nothing respecting Æneas, Ascanius, or Silvius. It had no consulting of the oracle of Diana, no Locrine, no Gwendoleu; it was therefore distinguished by a very broad line of demarcation from the British *History* of Tysilio, and others of that class, which adopted the theory of the Trojan descent, and rejected that from Hû.

But leaving this point, we may now endeavour to collect some of the other leading contents of this lost history from the *Triads*.

This ancient historical source seems then to have been very diffuse in relation to those traditional particulars before alluded to, as occurring in the *History* of Nennius, of the origin of the British race; of Hû or Hysichion the mighty; and of his colonization of the island, and his immediate descendants. Subsequent to this, it does not appear to have had the particular acts and deeds of any British king down to the reign of Dunwallo Molmutius, whose era was probably about 400 years before Christ. Nor from him is there any king mentioned down to Manogan, who lived about a century before our Saviour. The descent is then continued thus: Manogan, Beli, Caswallon. (See *Triads* 8 and 14, though in *Triad* 17, Caswallon is made, by oversight probably, great grandson of Manogan, and not grandson.) After this last is

a copious mention of kings of Britain and kings of subdivisions of Cambria, and of numerous bards, mostly otherwise unknown, down to Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, who ascended the throne in the year 638. This then gives us reason to assign the date of the seventh century to the original work from which the *Triads* were composed; but against this, is the mention of a pestilence in the reign of William the Conqueror, and the disappearance of Madoc and his fleet in the twelfth century. There is also, in *Triad* 22, the mention of Madog Min, who lived in the prior part of the eleventh century. However, as these events seem to stand isolated, they may have been introduced by subsequent copyists, as more striking instances of events of their class than before stood recorded in the text; and thus are not to be regarded as affording any certain test of date.

As to other particulars, it is evident that this lost document contained a history pretty full, from Beli Mawr to Cadwallon, and we may form an opinion that it had nearly an equal mixture of romance as the *History of Tysilio*. It seems to have differed from that, in having more mention of the bards and more also of stone monuments, and in giving a truer account of Cæsar's invasion, as the Britons are not represented as so triumphant. Indeed it appears to have been more a civil history of the island than a military one, as the only mention of Aurelius Ambrosius, which occurs in *Triads* 10, 37, 84, and 125, is but cursory, as is that of Uther Pendragon in *Triad* 90, while plots, machinations, and treachery, are very frequent topics. In short, it was probably a history written by or for the bards, containing such matters as were to them of most interest, and the frequent mention of the names of bards in the *Triads* has been before noticed. The *Triads*, however, contain allusions of various kinds, and some facts, which are otherwise wholly unknown. These instances are too numerous to specify, and will sufficiently suggest themselves in the perusal to the inquirer into ancient British history.

The cause of the original history having been broken up to form a series of *Triads*, preserving thus but a small part of its contents, seems to have been this. The history being supposed to have been bardic, and this transmutation to have taken place in the tenth or eleventh century, at that time the bardic community was of course much on the wane. The

desire to suppress the mention of paganism, exhibited by the writer of the history passing under the name of Tysilio, has been mentioned before; and a similar motive may have influenced those who converted the history of which we now speak into Triads; in doing which they could pass by what they pleased. Besides, the form of Triads, as well as being a much shorter vehicle of information than the original, might have been more attractive to some. The result seems to have been that, on this new arrangement being adopted, the original became lost. This may be the rather regretted, as it is very evident it had a line of narrative very different both from Tysilio and Nennius, though agreeing sometimes with both.

The original Triads, as printed in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, are 126 in number, but in the year 1840 eleven supplementary ones were published by Mr. Williams, at Llandoverly, in his pamphlet, entitled *Coelbren y Beirdd*. He did not give his authorities, but they seem to be received as genuine. Two of them we have before cited.

II. The next work to which we may call attention is that from which, as remarked at a former page, Matthew of Westminster has an extract relating to the Saxon war. It may be difficult to say what might have been the extent of this document; it probably only related to the Saxon war, or some part of it.

III. Henry of Huntingdon's Document. This has been alluded to in a former part of the present work. There is great reason to believe that it was the full text of the earlier parts of the *Saxon Chronicle*, which in the later editions of that work was abridged, as those annals swelled out into greater length. However, it is not contained, as stated at a former page, in any copy of the *Saxon Chronicle* at present extant. This document seems to have been very clearly and ably written, by some person well versed in military affairs, and though altogether in the Saxon interest, it much illustrates the history of Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries.

IV. Rudborne's Document. This author, who wrote the *History of the Church of Winchester*, has particulars, not elsewhere found, of the treaties of Arthur with the Saxons; of his cession to them of several southern parts of Britain; and of their clearing them of the British population. His detail, which is at variance with Tysilio and Geoffrey of Monmouth, bears the stamp of authenticity, but his source is not known.

V. *The Book of Washingborough*, a place in Lincolnshire, contained an account of Roman Britain and other matters. It is now wholly lost, but is referred to by Gaimar, in his Episode, in the following verses :—

E del estorie de Wincestre  
 Fust amendé cette geste,  
 De Wassingbure un livre Engleis  
 U il trovad escrit des reis  
 E de tuz les empereurs  
 Ke de Rome furent seignurs  
 E de Engleterre ourent treu ;  
 Des reis ki d'els ourent tenu :  
 De leur vies, et de leur plaiz,  
 Des aventures e des faiz ;  
 Coment chescons maintint la terre,  
 Quel amat pes, o liquel guere.  
 De tut le plus pout ci trouver,  
 Ki en cest livre volt esgarder,  
 E ki ne creit co ke jo di,  
 Demand a Nicole de Trailli.

Here the *Book of Winchester* is the *Saxon Chronicle* (see *Gaimar*, v, 2316, et seq., and v, 3451) ; and we have only to add of the *Book of Washingborough*, that it was written in Anglo-Saxon ; and that there is no record of a monastery having existed at Washingborough, so that the work probably belonged to a private person.

VI. *Descriptio Utriusque Britanniae*. This has already been spoken of in a former part of this work, and its value suggested from a particular in it having been confirmed by an antiquarian discovery.

VII. *The Genealogy of the Princes of Dumnonia*, translated by Ingomar from the Celtic, has also been before referred to. There likewise formerly existed,

VIII. *A Brief Chronicle of the British Armorican Kings*. This was written, it is believed, in the Bas Breton tongue ; and these two last were seen, a century or two since, by the French historian Lebault.

# NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS OF ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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## BOOK III.

HISTORIES, CHRONICLES, STONE MONUMENTS, ETC.

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## CHAPTER IV.

TITULAR NAMES OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS, AND ILLUSTRATION OF THEIR HISTORY THEREFROM.

OUR views on this head seem capable of being placed on a far more rational basis than has generally been supposed. The following few observations are intended merely to show on what principles it may be suggested that this may be done.

We may first advert to the Celts of Gaul, among whose rulers it is evident that titular names prevailed to a considerable extent. To illustrate the customs of this portion of the Celts is to illustrate the customs of the Celts of Britain. In Gaul titular names may be regarded to have had their origin in free institutions, and it was probably the case so here.

Cæsar informs us, in his *Commentaries, Gaulish Wars*, i, 16, that the Vercobreti, or chief magistrates among the Ædui, in the former country, were annually elected; and as various states joined for the purpose of military expeditions, as we find from the *Histories* of Livy and Justin, their leaders, on those occasions, must have been selected by the various confederate states; and from the tenour indeed of the accounts in Cæsar's *Commentaries*, there seems no reason to suppose that any of their kings were installed in power without having been either first elected, or their hereditary succession confirmed by election. This being so, the transfer of the dignity to the new chief was doubtless, among an excitable people like the Celts, accompanied with the most tumultuous joy and vivid acclamations; and that the ruler, when installed in power, and during the continuance of his sway, should be more in the minds of the people by his official rather than by his personal name, need not be thought improbable. However, so it appears in a great measure to have been; and as the

titles of supreme dignity seem to have varied much, hence we have a considerable diversity of appellation. Thus we find among the names of the chiefs, Cingetorix, Vercingetorix, Togirix, and Atepilos (see Cæsar's *Commentaries*, and Lelewel's *Type Gaulois*); *i.e.* the leader, the high leader, or chief supreme; the leader and king, the hereditary ruler, and other appellations similar. At the same time we must admit that, together with titular names, personal ones prevailed to a great extent among the Celts, both of Gaul and Britain. We mean such names as appear to imply nothing, except that they are the appellations and designations of particular men.\* Such were the names of Cotus, Acco, Divitiacus, and others, among the Gauls (see the above authorities). We have many such names likewise among the Britons, it is obvious; particularly in the later times of their history.

About two or three centuries before the Christian era, the particular worship paid by the Celts to the heathen god Apollo, of whom the name current among them was Belinus, supplied several names to the royal dynasties, as we may collect from numismatic evidence, ancient history, and our British Chronicle. Thus we have the appellation Belinos itself among the Gauls (see Lelewel's *Type Gaulois*, and compare also the *History* of Livy, xlv, 14), and Beli-Mawr, Cassivelaunus (Cassibelinus), and Cunobeline, among the Britons. Their identifying themselves thus with the divinity, seems to indicate that these persons assumed some high office in the priesthood, or wished to do high honour to the deity they served. This class of appellations will be referred to again presently.

With this preliminary we may now proceed to the more immediate signification of the names connected with Cunobeline's

\* Personal names differ from those which are titular in one very essential and noticeable particular, which is, that though they both most undoubtedly have their etymological sources, the derivations of the first are remote and mostly unknown, whilst the derivations of the last are immediate, and usually sufficiently obvious. Endeavours have in general been unsuccessful in obtaining the etymologies of Celtic personal names. O'Connor, in his *Chronicles of Eri*, p. 322, professes to give a derivation from the Erse of the name Caractacus. He makes it to imply "leader and director in battle;" and there would have been no ready means of either disproving or confirming his ideas, had not late researches shown that the Latin form in which the name of the British hero has come down to us is not the correct one; and that it is more properly Cearatic or Keratic in the Celtic; in which of course an obvious variation is discernible.

family and times, which, it will be seen, as far as here examined, are, with one or two exceptions, titular or official. In addition it may be here noted, that one of the more especial objects of the present observations, is to show the absurd explanations which have been hitherto given by Baxter and other learned writers of these same names; which seem to have been founded on the idea that the Britons, in the days of Cunobeline, were no better than mere savages, instead of having been, as it is evident from their coinage and otherwise, somewhat advanced in civilisation.

The first name we have to consider is not titular but personal, being that of Adminius, the reputed eldest son of Cunobeline (see Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*, c. 44); and of this person several coins are extant, which will be a great guidance to the true orthography of his name. The first, in the collection of J. A. Wigan Esq., of Clare House, East Malling, has AMMINVS; another, of which the writer of this possesses a plaster cast, reads AEDII; a third, in the British Museum, has apparently the same letters, though differently formed, and a learned foreign numismatist assigns the reading of the two last letters of this specimen as RI. (See Lelewel's *Type Gaulois*, 8vo, Brussels, 1841, p. 402.) If this be the case, it is very evident that we should have the reading AEDRI(x), and possibly, in full, AEDORIX.

While coins afford this testimony, we have his name in historical and other writers—in Suetonius as above, Adminius in Orosius, Minocynobelinus, and in the *Polycraticon* of John of Salisbury, viii. 13, a writer of the twelfth century, possibly erroneously, Belinus. Here it must be confessed are certainly several apparent discrepancies, but, setting aside the last, which we are not sure may not be a mistake, we may endeavour to reconcile the varying forms of his name, which are thus come down to us.

Adminius then seems to be nothing else than the British composite name Aedd Menw, which, with the two parts inverted, occurs in the name of a Briton, Menwaed, of the fifth century (see *Triad* 29); and though there may not be an instance that we may cite, of the precise form, Aedd Menw, yet the name Aedd, among the Britons, is one which we find had very frequently a compound connected with it. Thus, there was Aedenawg, a warrior, and Aeddar Voeddog, a saint, of the sixth century. (See Owen Pughe's *Cambrian Biography*,



and Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*). Indeed, as the majority of those who bore this name seem to have had it compounded in some form, there might then have been the greater reason that Aedd, the son of Cunobeline, had it so too.

The name Aedd was certainly one of great antiquity among the ancient Britons. In the *Triads* this appellation is given to the alleged progenitor of the British regal line, who is styled Aedd Mawr, or the Great, though his actions are not recorded; which gives reason, however, to suppose that there was some other existing account or tradition among the ancient Britons of this person, to have originated the designation, and for the adoption of the name by Cunobeline, for his son. Adminius then being called Aedd Menw, we seem able sufficiently to account for the several variations under which the name has reached us.

Amminus. This seems merely a more complete latinization of the name, from whatever cause adopted, than Adminius, while the Minos of Orosius, for so it seems meant, is merely a Latin or Greek form of his second name. The Aed(iios) or Aed(orix) of the coins is apparently his genuine British name, and the form given by John of Salisbury, is probably only an error.\*

We have thus, properly speaking, in the designation of this prince, merely a British name and latinizations of it, as also one Greek form of it; but it may be curious to see some former views on this point.

Now Baxter, in deriving the name Adminius (see his

\* Orosius' words are, *Minocynobelinum Britannorum regis filium*; *i. e.* "Minocunobelinus, a son of a king of the Britons." John of Salisbury, in his *Policraticon*, book viii, c. 18, in the remarkable variation alluded to, in quoting this passage of Orosius, has it thus: "*Nisi quod Belinum Britannorum regis filium quem pater expulerat*," etc. This deviates much from our received text of Orosius, but the probability is that it is an error of quotation rather than aught else.

As to the passage in Suetonius, *Caligula*, c. 44, so well known, of "Adminius Cunobelini Britannorum regis filius," Beroaldus edits it from a manuscript not Britannorum but Batavorum, making him a king of Gallia Belgica. This reading is however now universally disallowed. The name Cunobelinus notwithstanding became introduced into the ancient Belgian Chronicles, as it appears in that of Gerardus Noviomagus, edited in Scrivenius' *Batavia Illustrata*. The same Gerardus, p. 67, in the chapter wherein he enumerates the early Belgian kings, has Bellinus and his son Adminocimus. Cannegieter, in his *Dissertatio de Brittenburgo*, 4to, Hague, 1784, p. 86, from the variation of the names from those in the manuscript of Beroaldus's, thinks that he did not take them from that source, but from ancient books.

*Glossary of British Antiquities*, p. 6), can find no other etymology for it than Adhvinuas, or the man with thick lips; but it need not be said that the naming his offspring in such barbarous style, can hardly be thought compatible with one who is reputed to have lived at the court of Augustus, and to have served in the Roman armies. We may now therefore proceed to further instances.

Mandubratius, father of Cunobeline. This name Baxter translates "Mandu bratur," *i. e.* Patriæ proditor, or betrayer of his country. However, if Baxter be right as to the meaning of the first part of the word, mandu for country, the whole derivation would seem to be much better as Manduvrhag, or ruler of the land; such a name would have well corresponded with the titular appellations accustomed to be given by the Celts to their rulers; but did the name really mean Mandu-bratur, betrayer of his country, this young prince would have never been so styled by Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, who it seems patronised him, and placed him on his throne.

Now this same prince is called Temancius by the British chronicles, which there is every reason to suppose must be a real name. This appellation was by no means inconsistent with that which Cæsar had before used. For if he were, in the first instance, known to Cæsar as ruler of the land, and mentioned by him by such his name; so after a series of years when he had become fully established in his sway, and applied himself to a rigid administration of the laws (which is what the chronicles particularly inform us of him), as a dispenser of judgment and justice, as the oracle in the rule and jurisdiction of his territories, he may have acquired the appellation of "Dhe mandh," (Temancius) *i. e.* the sacred mouth. It will be here observed, that the myth in the chronicles of a brother to this leader, who was appointed by Cæsar, and resigned the crown, and followed his patron to Rome, is not here received. Besides having his above titular appellation, Temancius otherwise Mandubratius, he would of course have had a personal name given him from his early infancy, and Androgeus to which the varied appellations of Avorogeus and Avarwy are cognate, might have been that name. Hence the chroniclers, not attending to these particulars, might have imagined that a brother of this person was mentioned. In fact they make Mandubratius, Temancius, and Androgeus, all three different persons.

Caractacus, son of Cunobeline, and brother of the Adminius before mentioned. This celebrated leader from a passage in Tacitus (*Annals*, xii, 33), appears to have been king of the Silures or South Welch; and if a coin in the British series inscribed REX CALLE be rightly attributed to him, he was also king or governor of the Atrebatas, of the territory of which people Calleva, the present Wallingford in Berkshire, was the capital. However, as far as we can see, his name as it has come down to us, has no reference whatever to either of his known governments, but is personal, and such Celtic names, it has been before remarked, are for the most part not resolvable by etymology.

Togodumnus, brother of Caractacus, killed A. D. 43, in one of the engagements with the Romans. This name is now shown to have been rather Togodubnus, as certain ancient British coins assignable to the same person, supply, according to recent discoveries, the legend DVBNOVELLANOS. As the termination here is the word Vellaunos or Belinus the sun, and as that luminary was considered the source of warmth and animation, so the name implies, "Patron, or Protector" of the Dobuni. These coins belong to a class which are known by sufficiently certain indications to be those of the sons of Cunobeline. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the ancient Britons*, pp. 76, 227). Referring then for proof to the passages in question, we may pronounce this person's name to have been Togodubnus, and that there is an error in Dion Cassius is clear, where it is given with a different orthography as Togodumnus. In the same manner it appears by the celebrated inscription found at Chichester, which is recorded in Gough's *Camden* and other works, that the real name of the person called Cogidunus by Tacitus (*Agricola*, 14), was Cogidubnus.

The name Togodubnus thus obtained, will not give us much trouble. It signified that this leader was the governor and military chief of the Dobuni, a powerful state of ancient Britain. However, we may remark that from whatever cause it only designates him as ruler of one of his own supposed provinces. If king of the Cassii also, as may be rather inferred from the historian Dion, we know not why his title has no reference to them,

Prasutagus, king of the Iceni and husband of the valiant Boadicca. Baxter being doubtful of the right interpretation,

suggests two, though he does not tell us which he prefers. These two are, (1) according to the Armorican dialect *brasuidhiec*, i.e. very learned, and nearly the same in the Gaelic and Cornish; and (2) according to the Welch, "*brás*" he interprets as fat, making no account of the latter part of the name, which, however, we may add, would of course imply chief.—Thus he supposes Prasutagus, the ruler of a powerful nation, to be known historically by the name of the learned or fat king, though there are no instances in antiquity of sovereigns losing their proper names or titles and acquiring mere sobriquets. Better explanations may possibly be suggested, discarding both his interpretations.

Where, indeed, would be the analogy in supposing that while the title of Cassivelaunus implied the "Apollo of the Cassii" (Cassi-belinus), and that of Cunobeline "Apollo the king," the sovereign of the other powerful British kingdom, who had also apparently under his rule several subordinate states should have been contented with either of the titles suggested by Baxter; the one more properly belonging to private life, the other of a ludicrous description? particularly as we find that his consort Boadicea assumed the name of "Victory" herself (Buddig)? Prasutagus, then in reality, implies neither the learned, nor the fat king, but is a parallel name to Cunobeline. As the latter was Apollo, the king, so his almost equally powerful neighbour seems to have taken the appellation of "Mars, the king," Braciaca being a Celtic name of Mars (Braichiauc.) It is very justifiable to assert that this explanation of the name of this monarch of the Iceni, is far more consistent with the rank he held, and the genius of those times, than the suggestion which Baxter offers.

The explanation of the name of Cunobeline's ancestor, Beli Mawr, is hardly needed. It may be however noted, that it of course means "Apollo the Great." A similar form is given by one of the Latin poets, of a title of this divinity, "Magnus Apollo."

Respecting the Celts taking the names of divinities, the classical reader need scarcely be reminded that such was occasionally the custom among heathen nations. Thus, Diocletian styled himself Jovius, and Maximinian Hercules (*Gruter*, cclxxx, 3, 4). Likewise the proper names, Delphidius, Phæbitius, Phæbiados, Minervius, and various others, similarly constructed, are of occurrence. The name of the sun, also, to signify a ruler, seems to have obtained a place in com-

mon parlance among the Britons. In proof of which we may allege that, while in modern Welch *mychedyn* is the sun, *mychdyn* is a lord.

It may here not be out of place to say a few words respecting the ancient title or term "*cuno*," occurring as an appendage to several British names.

We are taught, by the Holy Scriptures, that all languages are originally derived from one root, and the etymologist who makes researches in any degree extensive, connected with ancient languages, cannot fail to be fully convinced of this, from the number of words nearly the same in the languages of distinct races. In this way the essentially Teutonic word, in Saxon *cynig*, in modern German *könig*, in English *king*, ran through several Celtic dialects, in the forms of *cuno*, *cun*, and *can*. Thus, we have in Gildas, the names of *Cuneglas* \* and *Maglocune* and *Cunedda*, in the Welch writers, all designating persons who possessed sovereign power, which leaves the point not doubtful. The word might possibly be still further traced in one or two other languages if required.

As time progressed traces of change in British titular distinctions seem observable, *Rix* and *Cuno* alone seem permanent: the earlier titles of *Por* and *Modur*, or lord and ruler, disappear, and the title *Tascio* comes into vogue, from about a century before the Christian era to half a century afterwards. Subsequent to this we do not find it used by the later Britons, who seem chiefly to have reverted to the two primitive titles which we have first mentioned.†

\* Gildas, in the passage of his Epistle, c. 32, where he mentions this name, makes a play upon the word, and professes to translate it, "*Lanio fulve*," or swarthy butcher. His words are, "*Cuneglase Romanâ linguâ, lanio fulve*." However, the text must evidently be corrupt in this part, and Gildas must have written "*leo fulve*," i. e. tawny lion; affecting to mistake *cune*, the first syllable of the name, for *cenau*, a whelp or cub. This may fully satisfy the objection raised by Mr. Roberts, in his *Chronicle of Tynilio*, 4to, 1811, p. 205, who did not seem to suspect an error of the text, and affirmed that the interpretation of the name would neither hold good in the Welch, Cornish, or Armorican dialects.

† It is pretty certain that in the fifth century the title *Emyr* was used in Armorica to denote a sovereign prince. This has every appearance of being derived from *Ymmerodr*, i. e. *imperator* or *emperor*; the title then being assumed by various usurpers. Similarly the supposition has been formed, that the name of *Aurelius*, i. e. *Emmrys*, is merely the same word, *Emyr*; but as it should seem barely on sufficient grounds, as *Emmrys* is made to correspond with *Ambrosius* by Gildas; which is inconsistent with its being titular; and Gildas is followed by Bede.

For a concluding remark, we may note the occurrence of the name Minocan among the ancestors of Cunobeline. Whether the prior part of this be the same name, Menw, which has before been concluded to form a portion of the word Adminius, or more directly the Minos of heathen mythology, we have scarcely the means of judging; or indeed whether the said Minos and Menw may not be the same name: which latter may be the rather suspected. The Celts had their Belinus or Apollo, their Hercules Ogmius (*Lucian*, ii), and their Pluto; indeed they are said to have professed their origin from that god; that is, the Celts of Gaul did so (see *Cæsar's Commentaries, Gaulish Wars*, vi, 18); a British prince may therefore have given the name Minos under the Celtic form Menw to his offspring, perhaps not necessarily considering Minos as one of the *dii inferi*. But we must notice, at this place, a somewhat remarkable point. The ancient Chronicles give us the name Androgeus, which was that of the fabled son of Minos, as the designation of a British prince. This, it must be confessed, seems to be carrying out the nomenclature of the other Pagans to some considerable extent, and seems a correspondence with the suggestion that Minos was intended in the first part of the name Minocan.

We have thus somewhat succinctly and cursorily gone through the various topics connected with our subject. We have not here entered into any discussions and explanations of the Celtic titles Tascio and Commios, though the same, are of some considerable import, as illustrating the nomenclature of the ancient races of which we treat. They are omitted here, as they have been fully examined in various parts of the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, to which the reader is referred. These titles, indeed, seem particularly to require the accompaniment of coins to render them fully understood.

To conclude. As a general review of the whole, it may be justifiable to make the observation, that the points now established are such as must necessarily have their due place in all future researches relating to the Celts of Britain, in whatever department connected with their history or literature they may be made. Parallel points may likewise be fully established connected with the Celts of Gaul, to which we have before alluded.

NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS  
OF  
ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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BOOK IV.  
BRITAIN SUBJUGATED.

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CHAPTER I.

CONQUEST OF CUNOBELINE'S FORMER DOMINIONS BY THE ROMANS.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE, which acts by secondary as well as by primary causes, seems to have highly favoured the conquerors of the world, in the disposal of the events which were attendant on their invasion of Britain, in the time of the emperor Claudius.—An aged monarch lately deceased, whose last days it is probable were passed in a partial dotage. Civil war but just extinguished. One of the monarch's sons but lately a fugitive in Italy. A powerful vassal prince gone over to the service of the enemy, and the second most influential state in the island standing aloof, under the idea that their best policy was to keep to the letter their former treaties with the Romans. These were no common coincidences to facilitate an invasion; and it must be admitted afforded a most favourable conjuncture of circumstances. On the other hand, the Roman Empire was free from other wars, except those of the most trifling description; namely, a war with some of the African princes; and another with the Chauci of Germany, a tribe so obscure, that they can scarcely now be identified. Nor was the war undertaken without the greatest circumspection and forethought, by the Romans; an instance of which appears in Claudius having delayed the expedition by waiting for the recovery of Galba, afterwards emperor, for the benefit of his advice. (Suetonius, *Galba*, c. 7). As to military forces the Romans seem to have had ample scope in this respect; though perhaps prudence may have restrained from detaching such large armies on expeditions in the North, as they had formerly done, under Crassus and Anthony, in the East.

For an account of what took place in this invasion, Dion\*

Cassius must be perused. Indeed there is little else we can refer to.

Before describing aught respecting the war, let there be a word or two relating to the British potentates of the parts of the island threatened to be invaded. The British custom of the division of the inheritance so notable among them afterwards in mediæval times, appears even then to have prevailed. There were four surviving sons of Cunobeline mentioned in ancient sources, though it is believed there were also more, of whom accounts have not descended to us. It is of these that are mentioned by history of whom we have to speak, to show what provinces they governed, and consequently to illustrate the position of Britain, at the time of these critical events.

Aedd Menw, who is usually considered the eldest and is the Adminius of history, certainly sustained various fortunes, whether the whole of them might be considered honourable or not. He was an insurgent against his father, in his old age; and with his band of followers, was by him, driven out of the kingdom. Arriving in Belgium he submitted to Caligula, who was then in those parts, by whom he was carried prisoner to Italy, and reserved for triumph; an event however which did not take place, on account of the emperor's death, which happened a short time afterwards. (Suetonius, *Caligula*, c. 44, and c. 47.) Here is a blank in this person's history which cannot be supplied. Nevertheless as his coinage is found rather plentifully in this country, it appears to intimate that he returned to reign in Britain; though we do not know whether he escaped, or was released. When returned, he took no conspicuous part in the war, but seems only to have reigned in his own territories, the state of the Trinobantes, and to have assisted as a subordinate. He is unnamed in the ancient British Chronicles.

Togodubnus, another son, appears to have been the chief of the Cassii, Dobuni, and perhaps some other states. He is called Togodubnus, erroneously by Dion Cassius; but styles himself on his coins, which are not unfrequent, DVBNQVELLAVNOS, that is, the Apollo or Belinus of the Dobuni. He is the Gwydir of the British Chronicles, in which his conduct is represented as heroic. According to Dion Cassius, he commanded one of the two armies, raised by the Britons to carry on the war, in the course of which he was killed,—as we presently shall see.



Caractacus, a third son, was prince of the Silures and of the western parts of the former territories of Cunobeline, and commanded the other army of the Britons. This British chief, so celebrated in history, is the Gweyrydd of Tysilio's *Chronicle*, and the Arviragus of that of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*; however, it is needless to say that he could not have been, as the last writer would imply, the Arviragus of Juvenal, who lived not in the reign of Claudius, but in that of Domitian, about fifty years later. Various of his coins are extant.

Belinus, a fourth son, according to Welch authorities was a general under Caractacus. His territories are unmentioned, and the only additional fact recorded of him is, that he and his forces served in the cause of the Britons without fee or reward.\*

Another of the *dramatis personæ* of these times connected with Britain to whom we have before alluded, we must again recur to. This is Amwn prince of the Firbolgi or Southern Belgæ of Britain, a part of the population of the island who are suspected not to have been good subjects of Cunobeline, or of his sons, and indeed are considered to have been in a state of revolt at this time, and to have been again reduced to submission. This man, driven from his territories, fled like Aedd Menw to the protection of the Romans; and, as we find by Dion Cassius, was very active in instigating Claudius to invade the island; and it seems also accompanied the expedition when it sailed, in command of some part of the forces. In this particular he was unlike the other fugitive prince, who it seems contrived to return, and to range himself on the side of his countrymen.

Of Amwn more particulars are now becoming known. Numismatic inquiries have fully identified that he was the same person as the Bericus of Dion Cassius, the Vericus of ancient British coins, and the Lillius Hamo (Illil Amwn, that is the king Amwn) of Tysilio and the British Chronicles. His ideas of regaining his territories by the sacrifice of all regard for his country were in the end entirely frustrated; as it will be shown in the ensuing pages that he was killed in the

\* The reader is requested to consult the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 227 to 240, for information on the actual state of Britain at the period of the Roman invasion, obtained in the way of induction, from the legends of various ancient British coins of this date, which much illustrate the brief historical accounts which we otherwise possess.

course of the war; and his late dominions or the greatest part of them were given to Cogidunus, who had been one of the insular kings. (Tacitus, *Agricola*, 14.)\*

Whilst continuing our preliminary observations it may not be out of place to make the remark, that there is a species of proof of the division of Cunobeline's territories among his sons in a passage of Dion Cassius, which has hitherto been overlooked by those who have treated of the British affairs of this epoch. It is in his Book lx, 20), and is as follows:—

Speaking of the Britons, he says, ἦσαν δὲ οὐκ αὐτόνομοι ἀλλ' ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι προστεταγμένοι. Here the context plainly shows that Dion accidentally or carelessly did not faithfully render the sense of some author he used, nor indeed make it correspond to his own narrative. The context requires, as the Greek words are ἀλλ' ἄλλοις, and not ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις, the text of the original author to have stood somewhat in this way, namely, that the Britons, *i. e.* those Britons attacked by the Roman general, were not then under the government of one sole leader and monarch, as they might and should have been, and had been in former instances, but were under other kings. The relative ἄλλοις, other, *i. e.* other kings, naturally requires an antecedent, and some uncertain or unusual word there is reason to suppose, was used to express they were formerly under one rule, *δμόνομοι*, perhaps, which Dion may have replaced by the word of more usual occurrence in history, *αὐτόνομοι*. This we may conceive was the actual reading, if not of Dion, yet of his authority; and the meaning thus seems very plain and clear; for he appears evidently to be speaking in the passage of Cunobeline's former dominions not being under one head, and not apparently of another point, which possibly might suggest itself to some, of the Britons, generally at the time having no Pendragon or chief supreme to lead them in war, as in the time of Julius Cæsar.

As to the causes of the war, Dion Cassius assigns none, merely saying that Claudius was incited by the Bericus we have mentioned, driven out of the island by a sedition. Suetonius however says that it was on account of the disorderly proceedings which took place in Britain consequent

\* For further illustration of these particulars connected with Amwn, the details of his coins, and the reconciliation of the account of Dion Cassius respecting him, with that in the Chronicles, the reader is again referred to the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*.

on the Romans not surrendering the fugitives who had left it.

The Roman army employed against Britain on this occasion, it seems, was double consular, as two consular men commanded it, Aulus Plautius and Cneius Sentius. The first had been Consul Suffectus, A.D. 29; the other full Consul, A.D. 41. It therefore consisted of four legions, and we find by the narrative there were auxiliaries; and when such were employed, according to ancient authors, they formed as many more. Thus, taking the legions at 6500 men each, we have for them and for the auxiliaries, 52,000 men. This, it is to be noted, is an amount greater than the above four legions, and their allied force would have constituted half a century before, but Tiberius had added to each legion a body of men called *vexillarii*, consisting of old soldiers re-enlisted, who were relieved from carrying the heavy burdens imposed upon other Roman soldiers, and had no other duty than to fight.

As to the British forces, we have no materials to compute their numbers, but as Cæsar informs us (*Gaulish Wars*, book v, 10), that the population was large; and as in Celtic nations, there seems to have been ready means for summoning forth their population in arms, there is no reason to suppose there was a want of competent forces to oppose the Romans successfully in the field had their efforts been favoured. Cunobeline, the late king, who, Stukeley says (*Itin. Cur.* ii, 10) was, during his stay in Italy, a præfect or adjutant in the twentieth Roman legion, could not but have raised a disciplined force in Britain. On one of his coins, preserved in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, and engraved in the Government work of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, fol. 1848, plate 1, fig. 45, and in the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, p. 45, is delineated a horse soldier skirmishing, and on another of his coins, in the same collection, a foot soldier, with his spear and shield (*Monum. Hist. Brit.* plate 1, fig. 19). Both these coins may be considered to apply to soldiers of his forces, and show his attention to his army. As to the population attacked: the late dominions of Cunobeline, at this time possessed by his sons, comprised, as will be seen from the map, twenty-six counties of England and Wales, the population of which, according to the returns in 1841, amounted to 7,864,603. Considering the population, as nearly as may be judged, in the time of the Roman invasion,

at one third of its present amount, it would of course have been about 2,621,201 persons.

As for the arrangements for carrying on the campaign, ostensibly concocted by the emperor Claudius and his "Cohort of friends," as they were called (Suetonius, *Galba*, 7), they were matured by the opinion of Galba, a distinguished general, as we have observed at a preceding page. They may be judged to have been very complete; and the plan of military operations, seems to have had this principal feature. The army landing in Hampshire, and marching due north upon the Thames, would thus bear directly on the centre of the late king's dominions, and cut them into two; an advantage which would be somewhat increased by his sons having already politically divided them into two main eastern and western portions. It gave the Roman general the power of interposing himself between the territories of Caractacus to the west, and those of Togodubnus and Aedd Menw, or Adminius, to the east; thus tending to confuse their movements, and impede their acting in concert. The general of Claudius would thus avoid the contingency which happened to Cæsar, of having continually fresh forces brought up against him from the western parts of Britain; at the same time he would be liable to another, which indeed happened, of the war being renewed at one extremity of the kingdom, after the enemy had been subdued in the other. However, Claudius' plan certainly afforded the promise of opening the campaign with the most important results. And it must be recollected that London, if then existing, was not of sufficient importance to be made an object to obtain the immediate possession of it.

The expedition had in the first instance been delayed by the illness of Galba, without whose advice, Suetonius informs us, he was unwilling to undertake it. Afterwards, when on the point of sailing, great clamours arose among the soldiers, and nearly a mutiny prevailed, being called, they said, to serve beyond the limits of the world; but on Narcissus, the emperor's freed man, being sent to them, they embarked—not at all from his persuasions, but from a feeling for their general, that a person so much his inferior, should be sent on such a mission. This hesitation on the part of the soldiers added to the former delay, must obviously have prevented the expedition from sailing till late in the year.

The armament took its departure, as is supposed, from the Portus Iccius, the noted seaport of the Morini. It landed in three places in Britain we are informed, supposed contiguous, and that these places of landing were at and near Southampton we have some species of historical proof, it being related by Matthew of Westminster and Geoffrey of Monmouth, that they disembarked at Portchester. It also favours the idea of their landing hereabouts, as Dion mentions the course was westerly from their point of departure, which agrees with the direction of Southampton from Boulogne.

On their landing they are described according to Dion's account, as finding no enemy to contend with, the Britons being unprepared, and having hidden themselves in the woods and marshes. According to this author they had an idea that the Romans would not persist in their undertaking, and had not therefore assembled their forces. He represents them as acting for some time on this system of keeping themselves out of the way, to induce as they supposed the enemy to retire, as Cæsar had done. Indeed, as Cæsar had retired twice from the island after invading it; as Augustus had threatened an invasion three times, and not persevered in his intention; as Caligula had likewise meditated and abandoned an invasion; as Augustus had pronounced Britain to be beyond the proper bounds of the empire, which Tiberius considered a judicious opinion (*Tacitus, Agricola* 13), their idea would not have been but very probable; but the islanders, if they entertained it, did not sufficiently calculate on the appetite for fame and vainglorious feeling which induced Claudius to overstep the prudent maxims of Augustus and Tiberius.

However, though this may have been so, yet it may be necessary to receive the account as given by Dion with some qualification. There may have been other reasons; as the unlooked for place of descent selected by the Romans may account for the enemy not being congregated to meet them. The Britons may very naturally have expected the invasion to be made in the same part of the island where Julius Cæsar had presented himself; and may have anticipated that the Roman standards would have been first planted in Kent or Middlesex, Sussex or Essex. Thus Togodubnus, the commander-in-chief in the east of Britain, may have made his arrangements to repair quickly with his forces to those quarters, while Caractacus the commander in the west, may

have taken up a central position, to bring forward his troops as required. Thus the Romans may not have found the Britons in arms in the first instance; and under this view they would have come into contact with Caractacus first; which we find was the case, as the historian relates that Aulus Plautius commenced with defeating him, and overcame Togodubnus afterwards: the account necessarily implying that he defeated the first separately; though he does not say that the two British kings had not united at the time of the second engagement.

There is every reason to suppose that the localities of both these two battles were not far from the line of the Thames, in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, or the adjoining parts; and these first victories of the Romans seem to have been so complete as not to have left for the time any enemy to stand his ground before them: for it is said the British kings fleeing with precipitation (*φυγόντων δὲ ἐνείκων*) the Romans immediately set about securing part of their conquests by reducing the country of the Dobuni, called by Dion Cassius the Boduni, and stationing a force there; these people who are described as subject to Catuellani, that is the Cassii, having just before submitted.

The Britons were thus afforded some interval of respite, which they seem to have employed under their leaders, Togodubnus and Caractacus, in collecting their forces on every side, and were assembling, or had assembled a very large army on the banks of the Severn about Gloucester, to endeavour to retrieve their affairs. Such a situation would have been favourable for collecting forces from the Silures, the retainers of Caractacus in the west, and here they could receive reinforcements from most of the Southern parts of Britain. Misfortunes, however, still attended them; for lying here, encamped on the Severn too incautiously, or rather perhaps occupying quarters, it led the way to another reverse, and was speedily turned to advantage by the experienced Roman commander.

The words of Dion Cassius are "Here," (*i. e.* in the country of the Dobuni,) "leaving a garrison he (Aulus Plautius) proceeded further. But when they arrived at a certain river, which the barbarians thought the Romans could not pass without a bridge, and from this cause were encamped more carelessly on the opposite bank," etc. These, his expressions, seem to convey the idea of a broad river, and the historian's subsequent account implies that it was a rapid one as well.

Next he describes that their position admitted of an attack, and acquaints us how it was made.

The Roman general had with him, among his auxiliaries, a body of light troops called Celts, who were accustomed, as Dion informs us, to swim, armed, across the most rapid rivers; whose characters, it seems, also by the sequel, stood high as soldiers. These being sent over, attacked the Britons; their efforts being chiefly directed to disable and wound the chariot horses, as also to retain a position on the opposite bank; for Plautius sent over to join them the second legion (*ἐκιδιέπεμψε*), under Vespasian, and his brother Sabinus, next in command to Vespasian, with another legion also, as implied. These, it seems, with some difficulty, passed over (*καὶ οὕτω διελθόντες ποὶ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι*), and the inference is, they had, by this time, formed boats or rafts. Being landed, they slew a great number of the Britons, who nevertheless maintained their ground, and attacking the two legions and Celts the succeeding day, continued the contest on even terms; the means of succour from the opposite bank now appearing to be intercepted, as none from this time are mentioned as received. The situation of this part of the Roman army now became highly critical; when, we may understand from the context, that Cneius Hosidius Geta, an officer of eminence, who had lately much distinguished himself in Africa (see *Dion Cassius*, lx, 9), though incurring a great risk of being himself captured, was enabled to obtain the mastery over the Britons, to such an extent (*οὕτως αὐτῶν ἐκράτησε*), that a victory was gained, for which triumphal honours were decreed him, though he was not yet of consular rank, which otherwise was an indispensable requisite.\*

The place where this battle was fought, best corresponds with the situation of the present city of Gloucester, on the Severn. It may be as well to make one or two observations on this topic—(1) The river mentioned by Dion Cassius, from its magnitude, could only have been the Thames or Severn, and its rapidity, which seems implied by the historian, would best agree with the Severn; and (2) the concurrent testi-

\* Cneius Hosidius Geta, according to the account of Dion Cassius, had commanded a light expeditionary force in Africa. This makes it probable that he commanded the Roman cavalry on this occasion, and there may be a presumption that he arrived to the rescue, by crossing the river with his party, some miles higher up.

mony of the Chronicles, that Gloucester (Claudiscastrum) was founded by the emperor Claudius, adds further confirmation to such an amount, on the same side, as to leave but little reasonable doubt on the question. Add to which, its name among the Britons, "Caer Glovi," much corroborates all other arguments. Caer Glovi appearing to be an appellation synonymous to Claudiocastrum; as Glovi must be viewed as the British form of the name Claudius.

In this battle it appears, by the context, that the Romans had two legions and auxiliaries, or about 26,000 men; and though the Britons were defeated in this severe engagement, yet they seem to have retreated in good order; for whereas it was said before that Caractacus and Togodubnus fled from the place of contest, in the present conjuncture, it is only noted that the Britons retired.

The plan of the Roman campaign now permitted the Britons to have the resource which has been before pointed out; that is, when they were defeated in the centre of their dominions, they could retire to one of the extremities, and this expedient they accordingly adopted. They decided, in the present state of their affairs, to retreat to the eastern parts of Britain, where were situated the states of the Trinobantes, and Cassii, and the two capitals of the late king Camulodunum and Verulam. They might here hope to protract their resistance, whilst the Silures might harass the Roman garrisons left in the west. This mode of conducting the war would seem to have been the most judicious; and hence the surprise expressed by some is not reasonable, who object to the battle just described being assigned to the banks of the Severn, when we so soon afterwards hear of the Britons in quite another direction. However, merely noticing the objection, we must now endeavour to show, as far as may be, the route taken by the retreating army.

It appears evident that, previous to the battle, the Britons were encamped on the western bank of the Severn, and that the Romans succeeded in passing over their army to the same bank during the engagement. It is therefore clear that after the battle the Britons must have, in the first instance, retreated from the Romans up the course of the river, on the same bank, and at about the distance of twelve miles, they would have arrived at the junction of the Severn and Warwickshire Avon. Here the former river alters its course, and takes a more westerly



direction. They, therefore, probably crossed it in this locality, not far above the present Tewkesbury, and continued their retreat along the northern bank of the Avon. On crossing this at Pershore, the road would have laid open for them to their eastern possessions. Thence it is probable that they took a south-eastern direction, and reached the line of the Thames about Henley, and continued on eastward on the usual road. The general description of their route given by Dion Cassius, is “*Ἀναχωρησάντων δ’ ἐντεῦθεν τῶν Βρετανῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταμέσαν ποταμὸν καθ’ ὃ ἐς τε τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει,*” etc. That is, the Britons retiring thence (*i. e.* from the field of battle) to the river Thames, down to where it outflows to the ocean, etc. Here the *ἐπὶ*, in conjunction with the *καθ’ ὃ*, convey the idea that they retreated some considerable distance by the line of the Thames, which, if they came upon the course of the river about Henley, and afterwards followed the most direct road to the present London, and then proceeded lower down on the northern bank of the river, may be allowed to have sufficient general correspondence. The British army still being supposed strong enough to keep off the Roman light troops and auxiliaries, and being able to outstrip vastly in point of celerity the Roman legions, heavily armed and always extremely encumbered with their intrenching implements, may account for any other objection which might be made on that score.

At length from some cause the Roman army appears to have overtaken the Britons below London, towards the outlet of the Thames. Here Dion Cassius represents that the river at this conjuncture being at high water, and making a great inundation over the tract of country through which laid the route of the Britons, they, from knowing where the proper passage was, passed over safely, but that the Romans attempting to follow got into great danger, from which they were only extricated by their band of Celts, whose services have been mentioned before. These, their auxiliaries, again swimming over and others crossing a little higher up by bridges, they arranged so as to attack the Britons on many sides at once, and slew a great number of them.

Attempting to follow up the remainder and to give the finishing blow, the army of the conquerors really got among difficulties, from which neither their own valour nor the exertions of their useful auxiliaries, the band of Celts, could extricate them without much loss, for they became entangled

in almost impassable marshes, of which circumstance the Britons taking advantage, they suffered very severely in their turn.—It is evident from Dion that this was an engagement on a very considerable scale, and very fiercely contested. The loss to the Romans must have been of some magnitude, as we find it gave a turn to affairs; and their army soon went into winter quarters. The Britons also must have lost very greatly; to which was added the death of their prince Togodubnus, their leader in the East of Britain, who, we are informed, perished in this engagement; that is to say, the mention of his death follows the account of it, though Dion does not expressly state that he was killed on this occasion. This is an additional proof among many others, that Dion's history, even where it is entire, is only come down to us in an abridged form; at least abridged in many parts, for the account when and where he fell of course stood in the original.

The place of engagement we can scarcely mistake. If the Britons were retreating by the line of the Thames into Essex, they would have of course to pass the river Lea, and we have sufficient reason to suppose that having better guides than the Romans, they would endeavour to cross it as near its junction with the Thames as they could; but whether in the then state of estuaries and rivers of Britain they could cross it as low down as the ford at Bow is doubtful, though about a century afterwards there seems to have been a Roman road by which the transit could be made when the tide permitted; and the time of the tide was of course here always to be attended to, since, even as late as Danish times, the Lea was navigable nearly thirty miles higher up. The Britons, therefore, we may consider passed the Lea, by the fords lowest down at Walthamstow and other places, while a part of the Roman army following them became separated by the flowing of the tide from their companions and exposed to be cut off, till succoured by the Celts, as has been related. It seems that even then there were bridges over the Lea higher up than the fords; over these the cavalry and other light troops might have come round to their assistance even as high up as Waltham, fourteen or fifteen miles from the Thames; and thus by great exertions an overthrow in this instance was prevented, a turn given to affairs, and even a great success over the Britons obtained. Afterwards when the subsequent

disasters took place from the ardour of the Romans in renewing their attacks, it is most probable that the scene of action was not far removed from the same spot.

Local traditions are not entirely silent as to these events. The Isle of Dogs, which, if the British army or part of it passed at Bow ford, is contiguous enough to the spot, has always been considered as deriving its name from Togodubnus, killed on this occasion ; though it must be confessed it is by no means the only derivation offered for the name of the island. It may, however, be added on the score of these traditions, that it has been communicated from a credible source that there is or was a tumulus on this island, which is reported to have been the burial place of this British prince.\*

Shortly after the death of Togodubnus perished the Illil Amwn or Vericus, the fugitive Firbolgian leader who had sought to recover his territories by means of the Romans. The chronicles which place his death immediately subsequent to that of the son of Cunobeline, just mentioned, represent it to have taken place near Portchester, but, according to the locality of the former event, it must obviously rather be assigned to the marshes of Essex.

From this reverse undoubtedly, also from the lateness of the season, and because the Britons after the death of their prince did not relax but prepared for war with greater fury to revenge his slaughter, Plautius, the direction of whose march seems at this time to have been through Essex, advanced no further. He became fearful for the safety of his army ; perhaps wisely so ; judging if the campaign in the spring should open with a strong coalition of the Britons and a numerous army against him, his force might be driven back to the Continent, or entirely cut off. Having, therefore, placed garrisons to secure those parts which he still held, he retired to an intrenched camp on the south of the Thames, and sent to Claudius the emperor to come to his assistance, being ordered so to do in case of any emergency. The camp is very commonly thought to have been that of Keston in Kent ; but erroneously, as the same could not have been sufficiently central to communicate with his garrisons, which must have been all of them to the west ; and probably on the line of the Thames towards Alcester ; for it can scarcely be supposed he had formed any in Essex where his last operations were.

\* Information from Mr. Edward Pretty, of Northampton.

The preferable spot to suggest for the camp appears to be Oatlands in Surrey, at Walton on the Thames, about five miles west of Kingston. The entrenchments, which were extensive, do not remain here now, having been removed by a former Lord Lincoln. (See Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol ii, p. 758.) These were in the park, and formed as may be considered the main camp. In advance distant about two miles is the camp of St. George's Hill, comprising  $13\frac{3}{4}$  acres of an oblong form. This is delineated in Manning and Bray, and also on a small scale in the Ordnance maps, and was connected with the main camp by an entrenchment. It still remains, and was probably the camp for the cavalry. A mile from Wantage, in Berkshire, and nine from the Thames, is also a very large quadrangular camp on the brow of a hill. However, wherever the camp may have been, the Roman commander passed the winter in his quarters, during which Dion records no event. In the spring the emperor arrived with a second army, which Zonaras, a Byzantine historian of good repute of the twelfth century, informs us was larger than the first. Possibly three or four legions, with reinforcements for those already in Britain. Thus making a large army indeed for the subjugation of the deceased monarch's dominions, which may give an idea of the importance the Romans attached to the conquest. To the very great armaments fitted out on both expeditions Seneca appears to allude in his *Tragedy of Octavia*—

"En qui Britannis primus imposuit jugum,  
Ignota tantis classibus textit freta."

The excellent old historian Dion Cassius may tell us the conclusion of the war in his own words. To him indeed we are indebted, confused as his account is, that the whole of these transactions is not left an entire blank.

"To which expedition when everything was prepared and elephants got together, Claudius, on the arrival of the messenger having committed the government of the city to Vitellius\* for six months, embarked from Ostia to go by sea to Marseilles,† thence went partly by land partly by rivers to the Atlantic Ocean; thence crossed to Britain and reached

\* This was Lucius Vitellius, the consul, father to Aulus Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

† It appears, from Suetonius, that he was twice nearly lost in a violent storm, in the passage near the coast of Liguria, and not far from the islands called Stæchades; i. e. the Hieres. (*Claud.* 17.)

the forces which were expecting him on the Thames; which having joined, and crossed the Thames and engaged with the barbarians who had assembled together on his arrival; he defeated them, and took Camulodunum, Cunobeline's capital; and then brought many into subjection, by force or by their surrendering. From this he was many times styled Imperator, which was not usual for one war only. Moreover he disarmed the Britons, and ordered Plautius to subdue the remainder—He then returned home," (Book 60, p. 677, Leunclavius' edition.) Here ends Dion's account.

It will be observed that the account of Dion gives us general results only, and supplies us with no details. We find from a passage in Suetonius (*Claudius*, 21), that two British kings surrendered in the conclusion of these events, for so we interpret the word kings in the plural number, the names of whom are unknown to us. Aedd Menw or Adminius, whose territories are believed to have been in this quarter, may readily be conceived to have been one of them, as we can scarcely think otherwise but that he was mixed up with the transactions of this war, though history may not connect his name with it. Were it so, he thus fell again into the hands of the Romans; and may be regarded to have been one of the brothers of Caractacus, described as liberated some years afterwards with that leader when he received a special pardon from the emperor (Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 37). Dion's narrative, the only one now extant, always very brief and summary, is even more so in describing the events at the conclusion of the war than those which took place in the progress of it.

There appears a record of Claudius's expedition in some Roman inscriptions. In Razi's *Itinerary of Rome*, among the "Inscrizionis de Roma" vol ii, p. 564, in what is now called Sepolcro della Familia Plauzia, near the Ponte Lucano and not far from Tivoli, is an inscription on Titus Marcus Plautius Silvanus Ælianus, son of Marcus Plautius, and styled "Comes Claudii Cæsaris in Britannia." He appears to have been consul afterwards in the year of Rome 800 or A. D. 47.

De Choul, p. 157, mentions an inscription found at Turin, which commemorated the valour of Stella Silvanus who had been Primipilaris of the 8th legion and tribune of several cohorts; had received gifts from Claudius on account of the British war, as well as distinctions (Torques Armillæ Phaleræ and Coronæ aureæ) from the local authorities.

During all these contests it must be remembered that the only parts of Britain opposed to the Romans, were those which had formed the dominions of Cunobeline, and which on his death had devolved to his sons. Neither the Iceni came forward, nor did the Brigantes; the former relying on treaties entered into in the time of Augustus, and the latter, apparently from some cause, not considering themselves called upon to interfere. Add to this, the Romans must have had a party among the Belgæ of Britain, if they participated in the sentiments of Vericus, their late leader, the "Illil Amwn," as it appears he was styled by the British Chronicles.

We may here be allowed slightly to glance on the character of the emperor Claudius. Cruel, absurd, learned, foolish, absent, and yet extremely considerate, his character may well be viewed as a complete contradictory medley; some of these qualities being not easily reconcileable one with another. He may be thought a very uncommon *lusus naturæ*. However, the history of his early youth, the nervous or epileptic disorders he seems then to have experienced which may partially have effected his mental faculties, sufficiently explain all. Of ancient writers, one of them Suetonius, may be understood to imply this. Another, Seneca, satirises him severely, in his *Αποκολόκυντῳσις*, or literally "Apotheosis of a Pumpkin," without troubling himself to discover circumstances of palliation. Singularly enough this same writer, in another of his works entitled the *Consolation to Polybius*, had pronounced him a benefactor of mankind. The emperor Julian, in his Remarks on the Cæsars, expresses himself in the same vein respecting him, without discrimination.

Claudius was worshipped in Britain as a god. This shows the gross nature of heathen idolatry; and the contemptuous derision of ancient writers, heathen themselves, is the best comment on it. However, a temple was raised to his honour at Camulodunum, and sacrifices were performed. This strange worship there is reason to think continued to the time of Vespasian at least, or about thirty years. The temple was without doubt of great size and magnificence, as the reign of Claudius lasted long enough for its full completion. It served as a fortress for the Romans in Boadicea's insurrection, and many hundreds took refuge in it; but it was captured by the Britons. Unlike the temple of Suli Minerva at Bath, archæologists have failed to discover remains of it.

There is not so much mention of the booty taken in this expedition as in the former one of Cæsar, though it must have been much more considerable from the increased wealth and civilization which had diffused itself during the reign of Cunobeline. The Senate decreed Claudius a triumph on his return, together with annual games and a triumphal arch in the city and another in Gaul, and conferred the name of Britannicus on him, and on his son. Claudius himself on his return ascended the steps of the Capitol on his knees; and the triumph we are told took place with great rejoicings.

A celebrated inscription called the Barberini Inscription, was raised to the honour of Claudius seven years subsequent to his expedition, to commemorate these his successes as well as those of his generals in the capture of Caractacus and the conclusion of the war with Cunobeline's sons, which, however, will be considered in a separate chapter.

Regarding the stay of Claudius in Britain, which was only sixteen days, according to Dion Cassius, a remark or two may be made. As Claudius seems to have sailed up the Thames to join his army above London, and in all probability reembarked in the same way; and arrived thus at once at the theatre of events, and as the whole time of his stay was spent in action, it will be easily seen that it would have been equal to a period of a much longer extent if, under other circumstances he had merely arrived at a distant seaport, and had a long march overland to undertake. However, in the chapter on the Barberini inscription above referred to, it will be seen that there is strong ground to doubt the accuracy of the text of the passage in question in Dion, and that there are reasons for assigning sixty instead of sixteen days.

Another topic is to be noted. As to the expedition of Claudius, for the relief of Aulus Plautius, it is frequently spoken of by writers as a mere delusion and mockery; a juggle between the emperor and his general, that the former might have some pretensions to military fame. Others again vary the comment, and profess to think there was but little done by either. The foregoing opinion, as to collusion, it must be confessed, is not without foundation; and what gives a colour to think so is, that Dion Cassius expresses it, that it was agreed, that if difficulties were experienced by the general commanding the invading army, the emperor should come to the succour of his general. Viewed thus, there

appears, at first sight, to have been a lamentable loss of life, without occasion ; for if eight legions were ultimately destined to the conquest, had they landed together, and not half one year, and half the second, resistance might have been at once overpowered, and the shedding of so much human blood been spared. To this an answer may be made, that it does not necessarily follow, that because four legions a year were forwarded to Britain, in two successive years, from the northern portions of the Roman empire, that eight legions could have been forwarded in one. The prolongation of the time of course rendered the exertion of raising the force more easy. We are thus unable either to condemn or absolve the Roman ruler on this point. There is every reason, however, to think that the resistance experienced was much greater than was expected ; and the unusual honours conferred on Hosidius Geta, who rescued the Roman army, in the battle of Gloucester, plainly show the extreme peril to which it was exposed. Had then Vespasian, with his two legions and the Celtic cohort, together with Geta and his troops, been cut off, the expedition, there is but little doubt, would have been driven out of Britain ; and there would probably have been no more attempts on the island, on the part of Rome, for a century or two.

A war in modern times, somewhat resembling the foregoing war, which has occurred in the present century, may here be alluded to. In the year 1828, Count Diebitsch, Sabalkanski,\* a general of the highest renown, with a large Russian army, failed in conquering Poland, though he manœuvred with great skill, and fought some sanguinary battles. The following year, another army being sent under a new commander, Poland was subdued, the capital being taken. The concluding events however were a little dissimilar, for, though Warsaw may be compared with Camulodunum, yet the decisive battle preceded the taking of this latter, whilst at Warsaw it occurred at the taking of the place itself.

We may now further give the account of Orosius of this war, though it is indeed scarcely worthy to be called an account at all as a narrative, yet well deserves notice from

\* The word Sabalkanski was an adjunct or epithet to General Diebitsch's name, and signified "Crosser of the Balkan," from his success in the wars against the Turks previously.



some remarks with which he accompanies it. Orosius we shall also follow up with one or two other short accounts :—

“ Claudius, in the fourth year of his reign, wishing to show himself a useful prince to the republic, looked out for war and victory, on every side : so prepared an expedition against Britain, which was in commotion, because some fugitives had not been given up, and passed over into the island, which neither before nor since Julius Cæsar, any one had ventured to approach.

“ Arrived there, to use the words of Suetonius, without any battle or bloodshed, in a very few days he received the surrender of the greatest part of the island. He added also the Orcades, islands situated in the ocean beyond Britain, to the Roman sway ; and returned back to Rome in the sixth month after he had left it. In the (affair of this) same island may be compared together, if any one should wish, the two times of the invasions, the two wars, and the two Cæsars. As to the event I say nothing, as one was the most joyful victory, the other a most severe disaster. Thus, at last, may Rome know that it was, in former times, through God’s hidden providence, in increasing her empire, that she, in part, attained felicity, who now acknowledged, and received into his church, enjoys it in the fullest degree ; except when her impiety thwarts and impedes the current of her prosperity.

(“ Sic demum Roma cognoscat per ejus latentem providentium in augendis rebus antea se partem felicitatis habuisse ; cujus agnitione susceptâ plenissimâ felicitate perfruitur in quantum non tamen blasphemiarum offendiculis depravatur.” —Havercamp’s edition, p. 468.)

Orosius’s own account of Cæsar’s two expeditions hardly bears out the expression he uses above, a most severe disaster “ acerbissima clades,” as he himself on the whole makes Cæsar to have been successful in the preceding part of his History, though it is true he there speaks of Cæsar’s sustaining more loss than any other account records. Dion, on the contrary, makes lighter of the losses than Cæsar himself.

The account of Zonaras, a Byzantine writer of the twelfth century, is as follows :

“ When Aulus Plancius (Plautius) having proceeded to Britain with his army had received some defeats, and given some, and signified the state of affairs to Claudius ; he (the

emperor) left Lucius Vitellius, his colleague in the Consulship, in charge of the government of Rome. Being conveyed across the ocean into Britain with greater forces and elephants, and having joined the other legions (*cum cæteris legionibus*) he attacked the barbarians; and they being conquered, and their royal palace taken, he returned to Rome; having sent back before him Magnus and Sillanus, as heralds of his victory. On this the Senate bestowed on him and his son, the cognomen of Britannicus, and conferred many other honours." (*Annals*, fol. Paris, 1567, p. 93, b.)

Aurelius Victor's short account is thus. "At the same time parts of Britain (*partes Britanniae*) were subdued, which is the furthest country to the west. This was his only expedition; for he went hither himself, proceeding from Ostia by sea. His generals conducted his other wars."

Cassiodorus's account is still shorter. "Crispinus and Taurus being consuls, Claudius triumphed over the Britons, (*de Britannis*) and added the Orkney Islands to the Roman Empire." From his *Chronicle*, 4to, Paris, 1583, p. 483. Cassiodorus lived in the time of Justinian.

Matthew of Westminster gives the following particulars. (1) That the emperor Claudius, seeking to recover the tribute which Guiderius (*Togodubnus*) had refused to pay, landed at Kaerperis or Portchester with his army. (2) That Guiderius attacked the Roman army, and drove them back to their ships. (3) That Lælius Hamo (*Vericus*) styled *Princeps Militiæ Imperatoris*, accoutring himself as one of the Britons, succeeded in killing Guiderius. (4) That after his death Arviragus (*Caractacus*) his brother carried on the war; and that peace was ultimately made by his marrying Genissa, the Emperor Claudius' daughter; in whose honour he founded the city of *Claudiocestria* or Gloucester. Geoffrey of Monmouth agrees in these particulars with Matthew of Westminster, except that he does not mention the place of landing, or the Romans being driven back to their ships.

As to the scene of the military operations of Aulus Plautius, there have not been wanting some who have widely differed from the usually received opinions,—Dr. Harris, for instance, and the Hon. Daines Barrington, considered the retreat along the Thames was made in Kent; though it appears to have taken place in Essex. The narrative in the preceding pages may enable the reader somewhat to judge.

Of those who have treated of, and commented on Claudius' expedition, Dr. Tabor, who wrote about 100 years since, and Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in nearly our own times, may deserve most consideration. Dr. Tabor's paper is in vol. xxx of the *Philosophical Transactions*, p. 783. He thinks that the Roman conquests in the first campaign of Aulus Plautius, could not have extended beyond Kent and Surrey; and Keston he reputes his winter camp. Sir Richard Colt Hoare's principal object was to ascertain which were the nations or tribes which composed the dominions late of Cunobeline, and their capital towns; as he thought that in all probability the battles took place near the chief town of each tribe. Then he thought the Roman troops moved along such of the four great national highways as corresponded with the direction of their movements; and these principal lines of communication, and one or two minor trunk roads, he believed existed before the time of the Romans. To these data he endeavoured to adjust Dion's narrative in his introduction to Giraldus Cambrensis. Hence, in his comments there is much seeming precision in things which cannot be certainly known. Indeed, were his basis correct, there would still be only an approximation to truth in his inductions.

In remarking upon his opinions, it has been pointed out that the track of the Romans was this. They landed at Portchester, and marched thence on to the Thames; from the Thames to Gloucester, whence turning to the south-east, they pursued the Britons retreating in that direction; and followed them ultimately down the banks of the Thames into Essex. Now it is clear that but little of the advance of the Roman army could have fallen in with the direction of the four national highways; a part of it certainly may have been on one of the main trunk lines, the *Via Badonica*. In their following the retreating Britons after the battle of Gloucester, they may have partly traversed the Watling Street, but we gain no fact by that. While as to the battles, there seems no certainty that each took place in the vicinity of the presumed capital towns of the different tribes; as the strength of particular positions, or accidental circumstances, which are unknown to us, may have occasioned it to be otherwise. The above will be sufficient to show that there is a great laxity in his views, as well as a peculiar liability to error; as indeed is rather obvious.

In conclusion, some elegant verses on the conquest of

Claudius, preserved in Burman's *Anthologia*, and in Scaliger's *Catalecta*, may be here introduced. The author is unknown.

"Ausoniis nunquam tellus violata triumphis,  
Icta tuo Cæsar fulmine procubuit;  
Oceanusque tuas ultra se respicit aras,  
Qui finis mundo est nunc erit imperio,  
Victa prius nullo quamquam spectata triumpho,  
Illibata tuos gens patet in titulos."

*I. e.* "The land unviolated before by Roman triumphs, has been prostrated, O Cæsar, by thy thunderbolts; and the ocean sees thy altars raised beyond its bounds. The extremity of the world is now the end of our empire. Only beheld before and affording no triumph, the name of this newly-conquered nation, now appears in inscriptions to thy honour."

It is most probable Tacitus had seen this epigram, who in his *Agricola*, c. 13, says that Julius Cæsar, "*Britanniam potest videri ostendisse posteris non tradidisse;*" *i. e.*, that Cæsar is to be considered rather to have shown Britain to posterity, than to have possessed it, which is very nearly the idea of the fifth verse. The mention of the altars raised beyond the sea, seems an allusion to the temple raised to the honour of Claudius, in Camulodunum, where folly proceeded to the height of worshipping this person as a god; rather than to inscriptions to him in British towns, like that at Chichester.

The little effect which the previous expedition of Cæsar actually had in reducing Britain, is well shown by others of the above verses; which are either a part of one and the same composition, or are a separate epigram.

"Euphrates Ortus, Rhenus secluserat Arctos,  
Oceanus medium venit in imperium.  
Libera non hostem non passa Britannia regem  
Externum, nostro quæ procul orbe jacet,  
Felix adversis et sorte oppressa secundâ,  
Communis nobis, et tibi Cæsar erit."

*I. e.* "Euphrates had been the boundary of the East, and the Rhine of the North; but now the ocean itself is within our empire. As to Britain, hitherto free, and not enduring either an enemy or a foreign king, become happy in adversity, and oppressed by a favourable misfortune; it partakes of thy jurisdiction, O Cæsar, and shares equal laws with us."

NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS  
OF  
ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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BOOK IV.  
BRITAIN SUBJUGATED.

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CHAPTER II.

WAR OF VESPASIAN WITH THE BELGÆ AND DUMNONII, ETC.

SEVERAL of the wars of the Romans against the Britons are more or less circumstantially related; as the contests respectively against the sons of Cunobeline, the Silures, the Brigantes, and the Caledonians. Again, in other cases, there are only intimations that hostilities existed. Such was the war with Arviragus, mentioned by Juvenal; and other instances might be suggested. Further, it is certain that there were many hostile struggles in Britain, the mention of which is not descended to us at all; as is evident in reading the narrative of Roman British events. The points we undertake now to illustrate, come under the second item in our list. It appears to be the case that we have accounts of several detached incidents, relating to the contest, of which we now treat; but it is as if the heading or title duly applying those incidents were deficient, and consequently the narrative not duly defined. That heading or title it is our present purpose to supply; placing the account of the war of a part of the Roman forces in Britain, under their leader Vespasian, with the Belgæ and Dumnonii, on an intelligible footing.

Who the Belgæ and Dumnonii were, has been sufficiently set forth in a former part of the present work. Suffice it now to say, that the Belgæ, who were originally a colony of Belgian Gauls from the continent, occupied Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and part of Somersetshire, to the river Parret; while the Dumnonii, who adjoined the Belgæ, and were separated from them by that stream, held all to the westward, south of the Dobuni and Silures. As to their political position—they may be understood to have formed part of Cunobeline's dominions; but like the Silures as to have been

tributaries only; a posture of affairs which in the first instance would have involved them in the common war, and after Cunobeline's sons were dispossessed of their central dominions, would have left them to struggle in the best way they could, with the Roman invader. It is true there are indications that there had been not long before an insurrection in these parts, but as the leader of it, the Illil Amwn, or Vericus, appears to have been obliged to abandon his country, the position of the Belgæ may be considered to have been as above stated.

The loss of historical records relating to this contest has been to so great an extent, that it makes our first task, before treating of such incidents as we apply to it, to show the reality of the fact, that there is no mistake in the assignment; to show that there was such a war, distinct of itself; and that it is not to be mixed up and confused with the other greater contest in which Aulus Plautius and Claudius were more particularly the actors.—We may attempt to show this by the two following arguments:

I. Aulus Plautius and Claudius appear to have conquered, brought into subjection, garrisoned, and retained, in the years 43 and 44, the Central States, as we may call them, of the late dominions of Cunobeline, which had by his death devolved to his sons; namely, the territories of the Trinobantes, Cassii, Dobuni, Attrebates, and Segontiaci; and as also would seem most probable, those of the Cantii and Regni. Five years after this, in the year 49, when Aulus Plautius quitted his government, and was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula, the Roman territories in Britain appear to have been extended no further northward and westward than the territories of the before mentioned states; as up to this time, we find indications that the Iceni of all denominations, the Cangi, Cornavii and Silures, were still independent. All this seems to show that the Romans occupied precisely the same ground in the above directions, as they had done five years before.

II. Again, to make no account of this argument, when the historians Eutropius and Suetonius say, that Vespasian conquered two most powerful nations in Britain, took twenty towns, captured the Isle of Wight, and fought thirty times with the enemy, it can never be meant that these nations were the same that Aulus Plautius and Claudius had conquered, and for which they received triumphal honours. Vespasian gained triumphal distinctions of his own to a considerable

extent, *i. e.* what were called the triumphal ornaments (see Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 4), therefore those two nations, must have been other nations, which he conquered himself under a separate and detached command. This is the more evident, as we find that he was not even a commander of the second rank in the first two campaigns with Aulus Plautius and Claudius; since it appears by Eutropius, that the consular men Cneius Sentius and Aulus Plautius, were the two leaders of the expedition, till Claudius himself assumed the command, just before Camulodunum was reduced.

Cneius Hosidius Geta it is true, as mentioned by Dion Cassius in his book lx, gained triumphal ornaments in the first campaign, under Aulus Plautius, though he was not so high in command even as Vespasian, but only commanded, as it is believed, some cavalry or light troops. However, here the circumstances were different. It is not said that he fought thirty battles, captured twenty towns, and took an island, but the services for which he received his distinctions, are clearly set forth by the historian: *i. e.* that by a flank movement, or something of the kind, he relieved the Roman army, which was in a critical position, and enabled his countrymen to gain a victory. Our reasons therefore, as assigned above, may possibly be considered sufficiently stringent.

The passages in ancient authors referring to these events, make certainly a very imperfect mention of them, and much require explanation. The first of them which we may cite from Tacitus, does not at all assign the locality of the conquests, but only points to them as of much importance. The expressions of Tacitus are as follows: speaking of the first conquests in Britain. “*Divus Claudius auctor operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano; quod initium venturæ mox fortunæ fuit; domitæ gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.*” (*Agricola*, 13.) In English—The divine Claudius was the originator of the undertaking, who sent over the legions and auxiliaries to the island, and admitted Vespasian to participate in the command (*i. e.* to have a command). There was thus a fortunate beginning to our conquests in the island, as the (two) nations (meaning apparently the Trinobantes and Cassii) were reduced; and the (two) British kings captured; as well as evident indications of the future greatness of Vespasian held out by the fates

(from his own conquests). Here we may observe, that as the historian styles the conquests of Vespasian as important from referring to their effects, so he does not appear to have thought it necessary to amplify upon them further, his immediate object being merely to show that they were a principal step to Vespasian's after elevation.

The next passage, though not so explicit, is nevertheless somewhat more definite. Tacitus in continuation, speaking of what was done in Britain by Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula (*Agricola*, c. 14), among other things says, "redactaque paulatim in formam provinciæ proxima pars Britanniae," *i. e.* the nearest parts of Britain being gradually reduced into the form of a province. This seems to show our point, that the conquest of the Belgæ and the Dumnonii was subsequent to the primary one of Aulus Plautius and Claudius, in its being said that the parts of Britain nearest Gaul were subdued, and though the nearest part of Britain in this passage certainly includes the county of the Silures or South Wales, the province of Britannia Secunda being then apparently not formed, yet this may be considered to weaken the argument but little, it being improbable that the historian would have expressed himself as he does, if he had only in view that further part of the then Roman province, which had been reduced subsequent to the first conquest. The countries of the Belgæ and Dumnonii, seem peculiarly calculated to have given the historian the idea of the "proxima pars Britanniae;" as Cæsar, in his *Commentaries, Gaulish Wars*, v, 10, speaks of the southern coast from Foreland to Land's End, as being the part of Britain nearest to Gaul. (See also Ptolemy's *Maps*.) These two passages, then, of Tacitus are illustrative: the one as showing the importance of the conquest; the other in intimating that it took place subsequent to the first contest.

We have now to show at what precise period this war commenced, the Roman force employed on the occasion, the time of the termination of the contest, and the consequences resulting from it.

It did not begin till after the capture of Camulodunum, an event which took place in May or June of the year 44; because Dion Cassius informs us in his book lx, that before this time, Plautius had merely held and garrisoned his former conquests. Again, there is reason to suppose it did not take place quite immediately after the capture of that city, as some



months would very naturally have been employed in securing new acquisitions, and occupying every point which a due attention to safety required. Therefore we may best fix the beginning of the war to the spring of the year 45. There is some slight corroborative proof afforded, as only one of the Emperorships of Claudius occurred in the year 44, as will be shown at a subsequent page, and that one is known to have been for the capture of Camulodunum.

The force with which Vespasian effected this conquest, appears to have been his own legion, the Second Legion, which he commanded, and which he had brought over to Britain from Germany. We conclude that this was his force, as this legion is spoken of in Tacitus, *Histories*, iv, 44, as connected by its services with Vespasian, and spoken of in such a way as shows that no other legion had been in the like manner connected with him. With this legion almost as a matter of course were its auxiliaries, equal in number to it; and the whole number would have been thus 13,000 men. This was probably the whole disposable force of the Roman army then in Britain, consisting of four legions and auxiliaries. The remainder of the force, which we may put as 39,000 men, might have been required to hold the territories already subdued, and to keep in check the surrounding British states.

The next point which comes to notice, is the continuance of the war; and on this we are likewise able to afford some evidence. Here we must take our data from the source before alluded to, the Emperorships of Claudius, which will be given in detail in a subsequent part of the present work; it must therefore now only be considered that we anticipate some part of them, for our present purpose, citing them for the following years.

A.D. 45. Five salutations for victories; *i.e.* Emperorships vi, vii, viii, ix, and x.

A.D. 46. One of these honours only, as indicated by Emperorship xi.

A.D. 47. The year of the Ovation of Aulus Plautius, in the month of January, who returned to Rome for that purpose. Emperorships xii, xiii, xiv, and xv.

A.D. 48. No new Emperorships of this date.

A.D. 49. Emperorships xvi and xvii.

Regarding the results which may be obtained from the details of these Emperorships, checked by such historical notices

as we have otherwise of the reign of Claudius, we appear to be justified in deducing from them that the war of the Belgæ and Dumnonii occupied the years 45 and 46, as Aulus Plautius, the Roman commander-in-chief, returned at the close of the last year, to have his Ovation in the January following; which, it may be thought, he would scarcely have done till this conquest was decided. We have thus some sort of presumptive evidence as to the time of the continuance of the contest; and it may be added that we have no fact that militates to the contrary.

An explanatory remark may perhaps be required on the Imperatorships of the Roman emperors. The title merely implies, that the autocrats of the Roman power were congratulated for a victory, either gained by themselves personally, as commanders in the war, or by their generals. They numbered these salutations, and added them to their titles on coins and inscriptions. The etiquette of these honours was up to the time of Claudius, that they were only conferred for the victory which terminated a war; and he is criticised by Dion Cassius, in his sixtieth book, for taking this title several times in one war—which he did; led to it without doubt by his conquering separate states in Britain, which were militating under one sway. Claudius had therefore an increased number of Imperatorships, compared with previous emperors; but still did not thus record every victory, but only the most important. We accordingly see that only a small part of Vespasian's victories were thus commemorated, for Eutropius says, in his *History*, vii, 19, that he fought with the enemy thirty-two times in Britain, which, deducting five engagements which took place in the first two years of the war, with Aulus Plautius and Claudius, still leaves twenty-seven times, but there appear to be only six recorded. Thus some of the victories were such as Claudius did not think worthy to be added to his titles; to say nothing that various of the battles mentioned by Eutropius may not have been victories, but defeats.

Our foregoing list however of these honours of Claudius, still requires further passing remark. We have collected from it, that the war against the Belgæ and Dumnonii began in the year 45, and was concluded in the year 46; Dion Cassius however tells us, in his book lxi, that Vespasian was nearly cut off in the ensuing year 47; and only rescued with difficulty by a force sent opportunely to his aid; but as the Roman

commander is described in that passage as hemmed in and beleaguered by the Britons, and in a manner taken by surprise, and inclosed with intrenched works, this transaction seems to wear the appearance of having been some sudden outbreak or insurrection of the Britons, after the war was ended, and before the Roman sway was perfectly confirmed and established, and so is preferably to be considered. We therefore venture to assign, with some degree of confidence, the first Imperatorship of this year 47, Imperatorship xii, to the Ovation of Aulus Plautius, for the war concluded in Britain in the year 46, and not for further successes gained in Britain in the current year. While acting on the same principle, we may refer the other three Imperatorships of this year 47, likewise not to Britain, but to successes gained by Claudius over the Chauci and other German tribes; and as he appears to have triumphed in Britain, for the conquest of separate British states in succession, it is not difficult to suppose that he may have done the same for his German conquests. It also may be added, that the withdrawal of troops from Britain for the German war, may have caused the supposed revolt in the island, by which Vespasian was endangered.

It must be obvious to every one, that we are fully warranted in asserting, from the numerous towns captured, and from the twenty-seven battles fought by Vespasian with these nations, and from the Imperatorships of Claudius, which show that six important victories were gained in this quarter, that the Belgæ and Dumnonii made a most obstinate resistance, notwithstanding the former are supposed at first to have been somewhat disaffected, and only yielded when they were actually stricken down in fight. We possibly may be justified from this in the idea that they were headed by some of the leaders who had so vigorously resisted in the first war, who fleeing hither, marshalled them to battle: Caractacus himself, for instance, as he is said by Tacitus, in his *Annals*, xii, 36, to have been nine years at war with the Romans, and no hostilities are mentioned at this time with the Silures. Indeed this contest must have been full of incidents, but the loss of historical records scarcely more than permits us to specify that there was such a contest carried on.

It is evident there must be many earthworks, intrenched camps, forts, and lines, cast up by the Britons and Romans during these contests, which still remain; but as we neither

know the direction of the marches, and the series of the operations of the Romans, nor those of their antagonists, these fortified works continue, and appear likely to continue, unapplied and unconnected by antiquaries with the movements of the two parties.

The resistance of these two nations being thus finally put down and the province of Britannia Prima consolidated, the emperor seems to have multiplied in the year 49, his inscriptions on coins, plates of lead, and marble trophies, of TRIB(VNITIA) POT(ESTATE) IX, IMP(ERATOR) XVI COS. IV. This also being the year in which the Pomoerium was enlarged, and an occasion of great solemnity, which may have been the cause of this retrospective allusion to his successes in Britain being made. Aulus Plautius and Vespasian soon after returned to Italy. Aulus Plautius it seems had once returned before, but now quitted finally.

The following seem to have been the ultimate results of the war.—The Belgæ were made part of the province of Britannia Prima, and subdivided into two subordinate native governments; *i. e.* the Belgæ and the (Belgæ) Durotriges, which division we find in Ptolemy, and which we may connect with this period: such a method of breaking up powerful states in Britain, whose resistance had been obstinate, seeming to have been a constant practice with the Romans, as is evident in other instances. The Dumnonii appear to have been better treated, as they retained their nationality under their native princes. Thus we find they are called the “Gens Dumnona,” by Solinus, a century afterwards. They enjoyed their territories unmolested by the Romans, as far as we know; and there is no record in ancient authors, that there was ever a Roman garrison among them; the only apparent instance to the contrary, the Legio II Augusta, noted in Ptolemy as stationed at Isca Dumnonum, being doubtlessly misplaced there, in that author, instead of at Isca Silurum.\* The fruits of their comparative independence were manifest in after times, as they furnished a succession of princes, who began to take a considerable part in the political affairs of the kingdom in the decline of the Roman power, and for a century after that people left,

\* A dagger-handle, however, inscribed E. MEFITI T. EÖ. FRIS., discovered at Exeter, about twenty years since, appears to afford ground for the supposition, that a body of auxiliary Frisian horse were at one time quartered there. (See Capt. Shortt's *Collectanea Curiosa Antiqua Dumnonia*. 8vo, p. 38.)

till the kingdom of Gwynedd or North Wales, as being more central, gained the ascendancy.

Further, with regard to the Belgæ: they or part of them, in the sequel, were placed under the jurisdiction of the British King Cogidubnus, about the year 51. By the discovery of the Chichester inscription inscribed with his name, in the year 1723, he is known to have exercised his sway at that place, which leads to the supposition that the "*quædam civitates*," or certain states committed to his government, as mentioned by Tacitus, were the Belgæ, Regni and Cantii; but the subject of Cogidubnus and the inscription forms a topic elsewhere in these pages.

It remains to add, that Vespasian, for his services in the conquest of Belgæ and Dumnonii, received on his return what were called the Triumphal Ornaments, as we have said before, which were a minor species of triumph, was advanced to some high offices in the priesthood, and shortly afterwards, that is in A. D. 51, was appointed Consul. In the sequel in fact it opened him the road to the empire, and it was the knowledge of this circumstance which caused so much suspicion to attend the latter days of Agricola, whose conquests had been so splendid in Britain; the Roman emperor naturally distrusting that what had been might be again; and that Britain might be the means a second time of a promotion to the imperial throne.

No authentic detail of this war, it is almost needless to say, can be traced in any of the British Chronicles. They mention with much vagueness transactions at Portchester, Exeter and Winchester, and the landing of Vespasian at Totness; but as evidently confusing together the expedition of Aulus Plautius and the hostilities carried on by Vespasian, they create an intricacy which it is difficult to unravel. (See p. 353.)

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#### ROMAN FORCES IN BRITAIN.

The conquerors of the world held possession of this island by a triple description of military force. By their legions—ostensibly composed of Romans, but probably after the first century of occupation, not much more than officered by Romans—by auxiliary cohorts, mostly foreign, but some of them raised among the Britons—and by the troops of the native princes, which seem to have been a species of militia,

not permanently embodied, and which it is believed are unmentioned in inscriptions. We may also add the fleet, and some naval cohorts to the above, which they are known to have had ; and without a fleet the country of course could not have been held ; but this was much stationed at the ports of the opposite continents. One remarkable feature of their military force was the permanency of its quarters. It will be seen that the Second Legion, supposed to have been in the island just 364 years, or as long a space as from the fifth year of Henry the Seventh to the present year 1853, is only recorded to have had three stations—Isca Silurum, the Roman Wall, and Richborough ; the Twentieth, which was here as we may consider 343 years, had the same number—Chester, the Roman Wall, and London ; and the Sixth, which was in the island about 219 years, appears to have only had one permanently, which was York. We may add that, as far as can be ascertained, there seems to have been the same immobility in the stations of the auxiliary cohorts. However, we may now proceed with details.

LEGIO II, called the Legio Secunda Augusta, or Second Augustan legion, as also known as the “Legio Britannica,” from its long service in Britain, is to be distinguished from two other Roman legions of the same number, which, as in the case of the rest which follow, we must in the first instance set right. There was then, besides the one of which we now treat, the *Legio ii Adjutrix*, *Pia*, *Felix*, stationed according to Dion Cassius, in Pannonia, in the reign of Vespasian. Also there was the *Legio ii Herculea*, stationed in Scythia, according to the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. Here we may note a singularity of an inscription, found some time past at Bath (see Musgrave’s *Belgium Britannicum*, pl. II, fig. 7, and page 71), to the memory of a soldier of the Second Legion, Adjutrix : no account however is usually made of this, as he is merely supposed to have been a soldier of that legion, accidentally in Britain.

To continue with the Second Augustan Legion, the Legio Britannica. This is commonly thought to have formed part of the force which came over in the expedition of Aulus Plautius, in the year 43, and to have been left here when the other legions were partially withdrawn. This legion we find was engaged in the battle of Gloucester, when it crossed the Severn, and afterwards was in Vespasian’s cam-

paigns against the Belgæ and Dumnonii; both which circumstances may be seen in previous pages. In the reign of Hadrian, it was in the north of England, as mentioned by Dion Cassius, and while there took a part in the construction of the Roman Wall, as appears by various inscriptions. It was afterwards at York, as is shown by an inscription; and after the reign of Antoninus Pius, was quartered at Isca Silurum or Caerleon, in Wales; which received its name from it, "Caer Legio" *i.e.* the city of the legion. About the year 369 it was employed in Valentia; that is, in the south of Scotland, between the two walls, when Theodosius, general of Valentinian, recovered that province, and resumed again the Wall of Antoninus for a boundary. In the time of the *Notitia*, about A.D. 400, its head-quarters were at Richborough, where possibly only part was stationed, and the rest distributed in the neighbouring towns. In the *Archæologia*, vol. v, in the year 1779, a tile is described by Mr. Lyon, found in the ruins of a Roman bath, at Dover. This had letters impressed upon it—then read C.I.BR., which heretofore was interpreted, "*Cohors Prima Britannica*," and was supposed to imply the first cohort of this legion. Subsequent discoveries however of the same species of tile at Lymne, show that the right reading is CL.BR. or Classiarii Britannici, or sailors of the British fleet. See Mr. C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, and his *Report of the Excavations at Lymne*, 4to. 1852, pp. 30, 34; also the *Journal of the Arch. Assoc.* for 1852, p. 241, for an illustrative inscription, discovered in the Tower of London. In regard to its emblems, from the ornamentation of an inscription at the Roman Wall, in which this legion is recorded, they are believed to have been a pegasus, and a capricorn or sea-goat.

Claudian, in his Poem on the war against Gildo, a governor in Africa, conquered by Stilicho, mentions, in his enumeration of the forces, various cohorts and a legion which he calls Augustan; the said legion however was not the second Augustan legion—as it appears the third legion called *Cyreniaca*, was so styled, (see *Dion Cassius*, book lv, as also an inscription in Shaw's *Travels*, fol. 1738, p. 156). Likewise the eighth legion, according to Dion, book lv, was termed *Augusta* as well. Besides, Gildo died in the year 398, consequently the date does not correspond.

It continued in Britain then, and at the time of the *Notitia*

*Imperii*, this legion as before said was quartered at Rutupium, or Richborough. Afterwards it should seem it accompanied Constantine the Tyrant, as he was called, to the continent in the year 407, when it finally quitted Britain.

The military operations of Constantine, who was an aspirant to the Roman empire, continued nearly incessant for four years, when at the end of that period, after having enjoyed the sovereignty of Gaul and part of Spain, and having been at one time recognised by Honorius, he lost his life and dominions both together. It is easy to see that the Second Legion, having been the earliest to connect itself with the fortunes of Constantine, must have had a great share in the whole series of desultory and harassing military transactions, which are described as having taken place. Whether Gerontius the Briton—whose name by the way seems to have been no other than the common British one of Geraint, and who by his disagreements with Constantine's son occasioned so much detriment, as recorded by Zosimus—was the commander of the legion, we are not informed. But from reading the accounts, we may infer that this our legion, which had been for a very long series of years so intimately connected with our island, and had especially received the name of "*Legio Britannica*," was either dispersed, or broken up and draughted into other troops, or in some way brought to its termination, as one of the results of the ambitious enterprise of Constantine to obtain the empire.

LEGIO VI. This, which had the adjunct of v.p.f. or *Victrix*, *Pia*, *Felix*, is not the same as another legion of the same number, the *Legio vi Ferrea*, which appears, from the *History* of Dion Cassius, book lv, to have served in Judæa. It is supposed to have been one of the three legions brought over by Hadrian to act against the Caledonians, and its general quarters appear to have been at York, where inscriptions have been found connected with it; but the emblems or symbols which it adopted do not seem to be ascertained.

This legion is one of those which figure on the coins of Mark Antony. It is a singular circumstance, that the emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius Verus, during the time of their joint rule, about A. D. 140 or 150, as it may be considered, restruck and issued this medal, being the only one ever so done. (Eckhel, *Doctrina Nummorum veterum*, Vienna, 1795, vol. vi, p. 51.) This coin, which is in



silver, represents a galley to the left, inscription ANTONIVS. AVGVR. III. VIR. RPC.; reverse, the three standards of the legion, and the legend ANTONINVS ET. VERVS. AVG. REST.; and across the coin, at the foot of the standards, LEG. VI. The reason of the restoration and reissue of this coin is not known.

Regarding the time of withdrawal, we may rather assign 402 or 403 as the period of that event, when it appears to have been withdrawn to oppose Alaric in the Getican war.\* If this be the case, it is the legion so elegantly commemorated by the poet Claudian, whose lines, which are in his panegyric on his patron Stilicho, we may here insert.

Describing the troops drawn together from different parts, to assist the Roman commander, he speaks thus of the legion which had been connected with Britain :—

“ Venit et extremis Legio prætenta Britannis  
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci : ferroque notatas  
Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras.”

*I. e.* The legion arrives which had been in advance against the distant Britons; the legion which curbed the fierce Scot, and had been accustomed to see the dusky iron-branded figures on the dying Pict. Again, in the Epithalamium of Palladius, where he mentions Stilicho, and speaking of the troops he collected, he says,

“ Quæ sævis objecta Getis, quæ Saxona frænat  
Vel Scotum Legio.”

*I. e.* The legion which has served against the fierce Getæ, and which has curbed the Saxon and the Scot.—By comparing this passage with the former, it appears that one sole legion is meant, whatever legion it may be.

LEGIO VII, or Legio Claudiana, so called from its attachment to Claudius, evinced in the rebellion which occurred soon after he came to the throne. In the apocryphal work of Richard of Cirencester, the *De Situ Britannia*, the author in his book i, c. 7, having noted in his list of British towns those where Roman legions were quartered, places the word “Claudia” after Glevum or Gloucester, to intimate that the Seventh Legion was quartered there, and that from this circumstance the place received its name Claudiocastrum, afterwards varied to Claudiocestria and Gloucester. The name of the legion is said to appear on the coins of Carausius.

\* The Getæ were a nation inhabiting both sides of the mouth of the Danube. Their country was called Pontus.

If so, it would seem to connect it or part of it with the island at that era ; but Dion Cassius informs us that about the year 229, it was in Upper Moesia, that is, in Servia and Bulgaria ; and it is unmentioned in inscriptions in this country.

LEGIO VIII. This, which was entitled *Victrix Hispanica*, as well as *Classica*, *Pia*, *Fidelis*, as also *Gemina Felix*, was not improbably one of the five which served in this country, in Cæsar's second expedition. That commander only mentions one of the number, the Seventh, by name ; but as he necessarily drew his force from Gaul, the following very obvious remarks seem to present themselves.

The army he had with him in that country was composed, as we are informed, of eight legions, the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 15th : of these, as we are informed, the 7th and 10th accompanied him in the first expedition to Britain ; and it appears that it may be reputed with the most probability that the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th did in the second. For the 7th is mentioned by name ; the 10th, Cæsar seemed to have treated as a kind of body guard ; the 15th seems to have been quartered in *Gallia citerior*, far to the south-east, as also the 13th ; the 12th seems mentioned in connection with Labienus, who remained behind in Gaul. The others there, therefore, it seems the greater reason to suppose with 2000 horse, formed the expedition. The 11th was probably the one afterwards cut off by the Gauls, then commanded by Cotta and Sabinus. Either the 8th or 9th legion was probably the one commanded by Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator.

Further concerning the 8th legion : according to the Turin inscription, to which allusion has been made at the former page 317, it seems to have served in Britain, in the emperor Claudius' campaign. Whether it was one of the original four legions which arrived first with Aulus Plautius, or came over afterwards as a reinforcement with the emperor, does not appear. At any rate it appears immediately to have returned to the continent when its services could be dispensed with ; but served again in Britain, in the year 288, in the reign of the emperor Claudius Gothicus. From its designation *Classica* or naval, it must have served at some period with the fleet.

LEGIO IX, *Hispanica*, came over as reputed with Aulus Plautius. It was almost entirely cut off by Boadicea in the year 61, in consequence of which it became necessary to

recruit it with two thousand legionary soldiers, eight auxiliary cohorts, and a thousand horse from Germany. (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 38.) Afterwards it suffered severely at Dealgin Ross, in Scotland, in Agricola's campaign in the year 83. (See Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 26, as also the elucidations in Roy's *Military Antiquities*, fol. 1793, p. 83.) It used to be commonly supposed that this legion quitted the country after these transactions; but inscriptions record it to have been subsequently at York; the name likewise occurs on a coin of Carausius; and when it left Britain is not known.—A bull and lion appear connected with this legion, on coins of Gallienus, and we may conclude that the same were its ensigns or emblems.

LEGIO X was in Cæsar's first expedition to Britain, and likewise may be considered to have accompanied him hither in his second (see before); but it is not certainly known whether it came over with Aulus Plautius or Claudius. If it came with either of those commanders, we know it soon left. However subsequently it arrived in Britain, but when is not apparent, and was quartered at Conovium or Caer Rhun, in Wales, where, as noted by the learned Gale, Roman bricks inscribed with its name and number have been dug up, (see his *Itinerary of Antoninus*, 4to, 1709, p. 122). There were two tenth legions. One served in Spain, and afterwards in Moesia and Pannonia; the other, mentioned by Tacitus and Dion, was in Judea in their times, and is noted by Josephus, i, 7, as being left as a guard, after the taking of Jerusalem; and was in that locality at the end of the fourth century, as appears by the *Notitia Imperii*. The Tenth legion which served in Spain was therefore probably the one that came here; but when it left is equally unknown as the time of its arrival. The Tenth legion we are informed, or at least a tenth legion, was disbanded for mutiny in the reign of Augustus.

LEGIO XI completes the number of the five legions which are supposed to have accompanied Cæsar hither in his second expedition, see the preceding page.

LEGIO XIV, which was surnamed "Domitores Britanniae," or Conquerors of Britain, came over with Aulus Plautius or Claudius, but their services are unmentioned till they defeated the Britons, in Boadicea's insurrection, from which event they received their denomination as above; subsequent to

this event it was sent by Nero to Pannonia, but again ordered back by Vitellius. At Turin a quarrel arose between the legion and its auxiliaries, they having taken different sides in the competition for the empire. It was sent to Britain without them, but ordered back the following year.

LEGIO XX, or Valeriana Victrix, came over to this country either with Aulus Plautius or with the emperor Claudius, it is not known which; and its station was for a great length of time at Deva or Chester. The emblems of this legion appear to have been, from inscriptions and coins, a boar and a sea-goat.

Besides the legion of which we treat, the Legio xx, Valeriana Victrix, there was also another twentieth legion styled the *Legio xx, Valens Victrix*, as appears by an inscription at Parma (see Musgrave's *Belgium Britannicum*, vol. ii, p. 94): but it does not appear that the said legion ever served in this country. Even according to Dion there was still another *Legio xx, Valeriana*, which is mentioned as quartered at one time in Germany. This however, as Dion makes the remark, that it was not called "Valeriana" by every one, Musgrave thought might possibly have been the Legio xx, Valens Victrix, above spoken of, (*ibid.* p. 95).

To revert to our twentieth legion. The celebrated monumental inscription of Julius Vitalis relating to it was found at Walcot, a place about a mile from Bath, in the year 1708 (see the former page 92). This exercised the ingenuity and learning of several eminent men of the day. Gale published a Dissertation on it, in his *Commentary on Antoninus*, in 1709. Hearne, another, in his edition of *Spelman's Alfred*, the same year. But the most elaborate Treatise on the subject, was that of Dr. Musgrave, which appeared in 1711; forming vol. ii of his *Belgium Britannicum*. This we have already cited; and for his account of the legion see the *Proceedings of the Archæological Congress, at Gloucester*, for 1846, pp. 43-57. Musgrave also printed a learned Dissertation of some length, by Dodwell, on this Walcot discovery, in his volume.

Besides the above, numerous other inscriptions have come to light, in which the name of this legion is mentioned. They mostly refer to it as stationed in the northern part of the kingdom: but we may give one here, relating to it in these southern parts, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1784,

p. 485 ; and September the same year, p. 672. See also Mr. C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, pl. xlv, fig. 2, and page 135. It was dug up in Church-lane, Whitechapel, at the end, towards Rosemary-lane, in a piece of ground, used as a burial-ground, and is as follows :—D.M. IVL. VALIVS. MIL. LEG XXXV AN. XL. H.S.E C. A. FLAVIO. ATTIO. HER. The meaning of which is “Sacred to the dii manes—Julius Valius, soldier of the twentieth legion, Valeriana Victrix, aged forty years ; lies here buried. This stone was placed by C. A. Flavius Attius, whom he had made his heir.” In addition to this, a small fragment of an inscription has been found of late years, at Pentonville, among the remaining parts of which the words LEG XX, are visible. (See *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, pl. xlviii, A, fig. 1, and pp. 130, 135.)

The Twentieth, there is but little reason to doubt, was under the commander in Britain, called the “Comes Britanniae,” as the Sixth was under the Dux Britanniae, and the Second under the Count of the Saxon shore. The *Notitia*, which gives the information that there was such an officer in Britain, does not acquaint us with his usual station.

The first mention of this legion in Britain, in the page of history, is at the time of Boadicea's insurrection, in the year 61, when Tacitus records (*Annals*, xiv, 34), that its Vexillarii, were actively employed. The last is in the year 368, when according to Ammianus Marcellinus, two bodies of troops, the Jovii, and Victores, were ordered to meet Theodosius, the general of Valentinian, on his arrival in Britain, which they did at Rutupium. The appellation Victores, seems to be duly assignable to the Twentieth legion, the title of which, as we have seen, was Victrix, in Latin, and Νικηφόριος in Greek. (See Ptolemy's *Geography*, i, 3.) The Jovii may either have been a legion or cohort, sent just before, by Valentinian to succour the Britons.

In reference to the time when this legion left, Clemens Maximus conveyed away all the troops he could collect in his expedition to the Continent, in the year 383 ; and we may form the supposition that the Twentieth legion was among the number. There is no trace that more than two legions returned—the Second Augusta and Sixth Victrix ; which had been so long before in the island. They were probably the two mentioned by Tysilio and Geoffrey of Monmouth, as sent over to assist the islanders, by Maximus ;

but as may rather be supposed by the constituted authorities after his defeat. (See the former page 26.) By the *Notitia*, it appears that these two legions did return, which confirms the *Chronicles*. But though the Twentieth did not return, as we may be rather inclined to think, yet from the same ancient document, the *Notitia*, we may infer that the auxiliaries of this legion continued in the island till the Romans quitted. We may add that the ulterior fortunes of the legion itself, subsequent to the enterprise of Maximus, are entirely veiled in obscurity.

LEGIO XXII. This legion, whose style was Legio xxii Primigenia, or the twenty-second, original or first formed legion ; and which was usually stationed in Belgium, appears to have been one of those or part of it at least, which sided with Carausius, as rests on the authority of the following brass coin, found at an ancient Roman burying place at Strood, in 1838, described by Mr. C. Roach Smith (*Archæologia*, xxix, p. 219, and *Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, p. 112.) Obverse, IMP CARAVSIVS. P AUG. with a head of that emperor. Reverse, Legio IIXX, PRIMIG. In the exergue, M. L.

The numbers of the Roman legions which appear on the coins of Carausius are, the 2d, 4th, 7th, 9th, 20th, and 22d, as above, not in every instance of itself a decisive proof of their having been in Britain, as may easily be imagined, as he may have struck such coins to conciliate parties of those legions who might have happened to be serving in his sea or land forces.

Making then no account of the legions whose names are inscribed on the coins of this celebrated ruler of Britain, we may collect, from the foregoing details, that there were nine of these bodies of troops which were either stationed in this country, or are supposed to have been sent over at different times.

Besides the legions above referred to, there are yet some others to which there are dubious and imperfect allusions in various ways, not, however, such as to establish the fact of their having ever been here, or even to make it probable. Such for instance is the mention of the Legio ii, Adjutrix, which we have noticed before ; as also that of the name L. GOR, or Legio Gordiana, inscribed on tiles found at Durham, recorded in No. 357 of the *Philosophical Transactions*. In this instance we may understand that one of the

legions then in the neighbourhood, the Sixth or Twentieth, took the name of Gordiana. Another instance of this class is a tile found in Scotland, according to Gordon in his *Iter Septentrionale*, pp. 56, 62, inscribed LEG. V. Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, interprets this, and apparently correctly, LEG(IO SEXTA) V(ICTRIX).

Of many legions which came over to the island in various expeditions and after some interval returned to the continent, we have not the least record. Such were some of those brought over by Claudius, Hadrian, Severus, Constantius and Theodosius. Accidentally, however, as observed at a previous page, a body of troops is noticed as sent over by Valentinian, the Jovii, who were either a legion or a cohort.

AUXILIARY COHORTS.—The auxiliary troops of the Romans the numerical strength of which was adjusted to that of their legionary force in its amount, the proportion being ten auxiliary cohorts to a legion, came over, not in large bodies or as legions, but as the phrase would now be, as independent cohorts. The number of them was very considerable; and many names of them have been mentioned in a former part of the present work, where the *Notitia* has been treated of. To these Horsley has made additions, in his *Britannia Romana*, and Mr. Hodgson further additions, in his *History of Northumberland*, from p. 312-15. Mr. C. R. Smith has done the like, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, p. 199.

The names of the auxiliary cohorts are sometimes very curious, and often so idiomatic as not to be translated without a periphrasis. Among the names of those stationed out of Britain, occur the "Sagittarii Venatores," exactly answering to the modern term chasseurs. Another cohort was called "Insidiatores," or Ambuscaders. Another, "Exculcatores," that is, Trampers Down, and there are various other like designations.

Their standards or seals, for it is uncertain which, were also extremely enigmatical as to their devices. Indeed, it may be said, many of them are nearly incomprehensible to the moderns. However, for this the *Notitia Imperii* of Pancirolus may be consulted, and especially the late edition of that work by Böcking, in which they are delineated with much more fidelity.

We do not give here an augmented list of the auxiliary cohorts of the island, but refer to those which will be found

in the account of the *Notitia* at the former pages 99-101. Since, though the additions are certainly very numerous, there is a peculiar difficulty of ascertaining in many instances whether different cohorts are to be understood, or the same under a varied nomenclature.

But we may now revert again to the legions, and say some few words generally, in regard to the information we possess respecting them; which indeed may enable the reader to understand why, in most cases, our details must necessarily be so imperfect when they are the subject.

That the legions should often be severally and specifically mentioned in the pages of history is only what would be natural to suppose; indeed, we have seen instances of it in the previous account of such of them as were quartered in Britain; and the notice of them, we may observe, which occurs in the times of Julius Cæsar and during the first century, is more clear than afterwards; they being far more commonly spoken of by their numbers within those limits. However, even then, from want of sufficient illustration of the subject and from several legions bearing the same numbers, there is often much obscurity. As time progressed, the custom seems to have become more frequent, of merely designating them by some casual honorary title, or other appellation they had acquired, and hence the greater difficulty in recognising them when they became thus varied in their names.

To this succeeded the period when this species of force, as well as being known by their numbers, or otherwise, appear to have been divided into "*Legiones Palatinæ*" and "*Legiones Comitatus*," as well as "*Legiones Pseudo-Comitatenses*;" and certain other bodies of troops came into notice, as the "*Auxilia Palatina*." This was the case at the date of the *Notitia Imperii*, as may be seen by a reference to that work; with an increased difficulty also of recognising them from further variations of names; and soon after this the Roman empire becoming disorganised in all its institutions, civil and military, the interest of the inquirer on the subject naturally ceases.

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NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS  
OF  
ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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BOOK IV.  
BRITAIN SUBJUGATED.

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CHAPTER III.

THE BARBERINI INSCRIPTION AT ROME, ETC.

THE supposition would hardly be formed, after reading the account in Dion Cassius, that the expedition of Claudius to Britain could have been described by a Latin historian, as having taken place without battle or bloodshed. It could scarcely have been conjectured that Suetonius, who himself says that Claudius exhibited the spectacle of the taking of a town in Britain, could have been that historian. Still less would it be easily credited that he took his statement to the above effect, not from historical writers, but from an inscription standing in the streets, which he himself, though he was a Roman and it was written in Latin, so grossly misunderstood, as to give it a meaning altogether at variance with that which it properly bore. All this may wear the guise and form of being a strange detail, and bold assertions might be surmised to be mixed up with it; but as the inscription itself seems to have come down to us among relics of those times, we are able, after the lapse of so many centuries, perfectly to elucidate this matter, and to show how the mistake as to the inscription occurred.

That the variation between Suetonius and Dion Cassius has often occasioned much surprise, when the subject has been a topic of remark, may be easily imagined. The account of Suetonius is a very short statement to this effect. After describing the emperor's journey and his arriving at Gessoriacum or the Portus Iccius, he says, "He passed over from that place, and without any battle or bloodshed, the submission of part of the island being made in a few days, he returned to Rome, within six months after leaving it." (*Claudius*, 17.) Dion, on the other hand we know, had already described that there was one battle at least previous to the taking of the capital city of Camulodunum.

The Barberini Inscription found at Rome two hundred years since, and preserved at the Barberini palace in that city, forms the medium for reconciling these the difficulties of our case with some degree of certainty; and it now comes in due course to examine the status quo and the general import of this ancient relic.

In the first place we may admit that there are doubts in reference to some particulars connected with it, but none as to the point of its authenticity, or in the least interfering with our present purpose. In its state when found, one half of it came to light, but fractured longitudinally in such a way, that the sense of the remaining half could not be doubtful. Two principal restorations have been accustomed to be mentioned in connection with it. One, first given, it is believed, in Wright's *Travels*, in 1730, and thence copied out into numerous antiquarian works, the author not known; the other by Gauges di Gozzi, printed in *Gruter* and *Grævius*, but yet not so usually quoted by antiquaries as the first. This is also mentioned by Wright, in his *Addenda*, but he supposes it a different though parallel or concurrent inscription. He quotes Donati for half of this only having been found, but misquotes him in respect to its having been the second half, or ends of the lines which were found, and the beginning restored; as Donati, or rather his editor, for it was published in his third edition after his death, does not appear to say so. This same error is fallen into by others; as Sir Richard Colt Hoare it seems so understood it.

We are thus brought to examine this particular, as the first point to be discussed, and we may decide the question in the affirmative as to its having been the first half, from the internal evidence of this ancient memorial itself. To the inscription itself indeed we must refer, as the mistakes or inattention of the writers first mentioning it render it difficult to be ascertained from their accounts. The last two lines therefore may be cited. In the first of these there is an imperfect letter, sometimes read as a B, sometimes as an E, some restoring B(ARBARAS), some E(XTREMAS), which could not be the case did we possess the last half. Nor in the concluding line would the ambiguous word INDICI(O) have been introduced, if the second part and not the first were extant.

The next point is, whether the beginning and ends of the lines were evenly arranged in the original, that is, whether the

lettering was arranged in a quadrated form, as a printed page, or whether the middles of the lines only were adjusted, and the beginnings and ends of them over-ran or under-ran as might happen, both ways indifferently occurring in inscriptions ancient and modern. As to this point, Mr. Hogg, in his Essay on this inscription, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* for the year 1837, vol. iii, p. 264, thinks that Donati's editor and Gauges di Gozzi, from whom Nardini took his inscription, followed the stone, and from this supposition is inclined to consider that the inscription formed a square, and treats the subject so accordingly, constructing his restoration on this basis. The wording of the inscription, however, and the great variation of the number of letters in the lines, seems to render this idea impossible; and there is but little doubt that all explanations founded on this idea, will be unsatisfactory. Indeed, from the reading of it, it would seem an inscription peculiarly adapted to uneven lines.

It is singular that antiquaries, whether they consider it is the first or second half which is wanting, agree, with one late exception, in giving the same date. We may, however, proceed to some of the restorations.

TI. CLAV(DIO. CÆS.)  
 AVG(VSTO.)  
 PONTIFIC(I. M. TR. P. IX.)  
 COS. V. IM(P. XVI. P. P.)  
 SENATVS. POPV(LVS. Q. R. QVOD.)  
 REGES. BRIT(ANNIÆ. ABSQ.)  
 VLLA. IACTV(RA. DOMVERIT.)  
 GENTESQ. B(ARBARAS.)  
 PRIMVS. INDICI(O. SVBEGERIT.)

This is a very common restoration, found in Wright's *Travels* and other works. The defects of it are: First, cos. v. does not agree to the rest of the date; secondly, it is doubtful whether the B of BARBARAS should not be an E; thirdly, it is doubtful whether an honorary inscription would express that the emperor reduced barbarous nations by a summons made by heralds, which seems the meaning of the word INDICIO as it there stands, *i. e.* "indicio fecialium." It is observable that Wright gives the above inscription without the least surmise of its being a restoration.\*

\* Mr. Hogg thinks the inscription built into the wall at the Barberini Palace, which Mr Wright saw and which is there now, is a modern performance altogether. In fact, that it is some one's restoration of the inscription from the half that was found cut out anew on a block of stone.

The second restoration, that by Gauges di Gozzi, is thus :

TI. CLAV(DIO DRVSI F CÆSARI)  
 AVG(VSTO GERMANICO)  
 PONTIFIC(I MAXIMO TRIB POT IX)  
 COS V IM(PERATORI XVI P P)  
 SENATVS POPV(LVSQVE ROMANVS QVOD)  
 REGES BRIT(ANNIÆ PERDVELLES SINE)  
 VLLA IACTV(RA CELEBRITER CEPERIT)  
 GENTESQ E(XTREMARVM ORCHADV)  
 PRIMVS INDICI(O FACTO R IMPERIO ADIECERIT)

This gives some alteration of the title of Claudius, and mentions the Orkneys in the line before the last; also it makes it evident that the author of it read the B we have just alluded to, as an E. Both these restorations have the same dates in each portion of the stone, which are not congruous. Cos v. agrees to A. D. 51, as appears by the *Fasti consulares*, whilst TP. P. IX and IMP XVI, which two last dates correctly go together, as may be seen in coins and inscriptions, should be accompanied with cos IV, and would apply to A. D. 47.

With regard to the conquest of the Orcades or Orkneys, it is quite certain from Tacitus, Juvenal, and Xiphilinus, that neither Claudius nor his generals could have conquered them. Tacitus, speaking of a period thirty years later, in the reign of Domitian, and alluding to Agricola having circumnavigated the island, says, “*Romana classis incognitas ad id tempus insulas quas Orcadas vocant invenit, domuitque*,” (*Agricola*, 10.) Juvenal, about sixty years after Claudius, says,

“*Arma quidem ultra  
 Littora Juvernæ promovimus, et modo captas  
 Orcades.*”

Xiphilinus, abridging Dion, who lived about 190 years after Claudius, speaks of Agricola to this effect (Book lxvi, 20), that he was the first Roman that we know of who ascertained that Britain was circumnavigable. Thus we see the assertion is incredible enough. To this it may be answered, that the conquest of the islands, the Orcades, is nevertheless attributed to him by Eutropius, Cassiodorus, Orosius, and St. Jerome, which cannot be easily accounted for; and here accordingly, we must let the matter rest. Whether it is possible that Cunobeline had received fealty and submission from the chiefs of the Orkney islands, and that the same were transferred to Claudius on his conquest of the dominions of the sons of the late British king, and so colour have been given to the

assertions of the four ancient authorities we have just quoted, it does not appear that there is sufficient evidence to decide.

In addition to the above two restorations of this Barberini relic, which have been hitherto chiefly current, another has been not long since suggested by Mr. Hogg, in his Essay on the inscription before mentioned. It is as follows :

TI. CLAV(DIO. DRVSI. F. CAIS.)  
 AVG(VSTO. GERMANICO. PIO.)  
 PONTIFIC(I. MAXIM. TRIB. POT. XI.)  
 COS. V. IM(P. XXII. PATRI. PATRIÆ.)  
 SENATVS. POPV(LVS. Q. ROMANVS. QVOD.)  
 REGES. BRIT(ANNIÆ HOSTILES. SINE.)  
 VLLA. IACTV(RA. CELERITER. SVBEGIT.)  
 GENTESQ. E(XTREMAS. TOTIVS. ORBIS.)  
 PRIMVS. INDICI(O FACTO R. I. ADDIDIT.)

This is a manifest improvement on the two preceding ones, in respect to the dates and the last line, but one. The following is, however, proposed.

TI. CLAV	DIO. CÆS.
AVG	VSTO.
PONTIFIC	I. M. TR. P. XI
COS. V. IM	P. XXII. P. P.
SENATVS. POPV	LVS. Q. R. QVOD
REGES. BRIT	ANNIÆ. ABSQ.
VLLA. IACTV	RA. DOMVERIT.
GENTESQ. E	XTIMAS. ORBIS.
PRIMVS. INDICI	ONEM. SVBEGERIT.

As it appears the relative portion of the words was similar to the above, there is the stronger reason for adopting this. The INDICI in the last line seems part of the words "in ditionem," a very common phrase. The EXTIMAS in the penultimate line may have been thought a very approximate epitaph as applied to the Britons of those times. In English it will be thus :

"Inscribed by the Senate and Roman People to Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, in the eleventh year of his Tribunitian Power, fifth time Consul, Imperator the twenty-second time, and Father of his country : Because he subdued the kings of Britain without sustaining any disaster, and was the first who reduced into subjection the furthestmost nations of the earth."

This restoration is submitted as supplying a correct date and as evenly balancing the lines, and as placing the lettering on the stone in that way in which lines one and two appear

to indicate that it originally was arranged. As to the wording of this restoration some remarks may seem required.

During the seven years which had elapsed since Claudius' own expedition, there had been almost continual resistance of the Britons to the Romans; and during the latter part of that time in particular the opposition of the Silures, under Caractacus, had been very formidable and persevering. But this year 51, that valiant leader being subdued and taken prisoner, it was justly considered that a success of magnitude had been obtained, and great rejoicings, to say no more, took place on this account.

According to Tacitus, Claudius had the honours of a second triumph from Britain on this occasion, described, *Annals* xii, 36, and alluded to, *Histories* iii, 45, in the following words, "Capto per dolum rege Caractaco instruxisse triumphum Claudii Cæsaris videbatur," i.e. the capture of King Caractacus by treachery was thought to furnish to Claudius Cæsar a sufficient occasion for a triumph. Nevertheless, the public demonstration which took place, as mentioned in the passage of the *Annals* above referred to, would scarcely be considered to have been a triumph, but for the corroboration of Tacitus' remark in the *Histories* which calls it so. It seems spoken of in the *Annals* more in the light of public rejoicings, than as a triumph decreed by the Senate. No procession to the Capitol is alluded to, but merely the troops are described as assembled in the field near the Prætorian camp and a vast concourse collected, before which Caractacus is brought out. Further we are told the Senate assembled afterwards, and that triumphal insignia were decreed to Ostorius. Here are no decided indications of a public triumph; but whether a triumph or mere rejoicings, it may seem that our inscription should be assigned to this occasion.

The date of cos. v, appears a strong argument for this, as there were no other brilliant successes obtained during the remainder of his reign after his fifth consulship; and so considered, this inscription may not only be regarded appropriate, but exceedingly well drawn up. It makes no comparison between the emperor and the indefatigable commander, Ostorius Scapula, who had lately defeated Caractacus, but it selects a person higher in rank, though not perhaps in merit, one of the emperor's own grade, and places the success of Claudius by the side of that of his predecessor, Julius Cæsar.

The parallel between the two is kept up through all the latter part of the inscription, as is easily shown; and it is insinuated that more was done by Claudius than by Julius. For as the latter did not reduce the country, or any part of it, into the form of a Roman province, and as though ultimately successful, he sustained great reverses, a portion of his fleet being wrecked on the sea coast, and part of his troops cut off, in one of the battles near Canterbury, so there is made by antithesis, a reference as favourable as possible to Claudius, namely, that he *did* subjugate territory in Britain, and accomplished the object of his expedition without sustaining any noted disaster; which in this place is the true meaning of the Latin word "jactura," for we have it in the same sense in Livy. In that author (book iv, 32), occurs the phrase, "parvâ jacturâ acceptâ," which is sufficiently confirmatory of its sense in the present passage.

Now, in regard to Suetonius, it is obvious that he is more a collector of anecdotes than a deep researcher into history. The presumption is, that living nearly a century subsequently to Claudius' expedition, he was not actually acquainted with the historical facts and details connected with it, but had seen this inscription, which might have been a multiplied one, and affixed in several parts of the city; and that misunderstanding it, he thus, in his *Life of Claudius*, misrepresented a leading feature of the expedition.

We are led to form this opinion rather than to think that he took his statement from any other writer: and the reason is, that it cannot be believed that he could have been an inhabitant of Rome in the beginning of the second century, and not have been acquainted with so public an inscription as that of which we now treat; which, it seems, was not placed in an obscure part of the city, but near the frequented way of the Via Flaminia. However, we will presently advert more particularly to the original location of this ancient relic at Rome.

It is obvious, indeed, that this inscription, though intended to redound to the honour and credit of the Emperor Claudius, yet, being meant to do so by means of a comparison with Julius Cæsar, his illustrious predecessor, if that circumstance were not attended to, might seem rather of the negative class. Neither the word victory nor the defeat of the enemies is mentioned, nor that any battle occurred with them. The chief

thing expressed is, that Claudius sustained no "jactura," or disaster; and that, in fact, the enemy submitted. It is no great wonder that Suetonius, who wrote nearly a century after the event, if unmindful of the comparison with Julius, might suppose less done than there was; and might think that Claudius reduced the Britons, as he expresses it, without battle or bloodshed. Being inclined to give an unfavourable view of the life and conduct of Claudius, as rather appears the case, he might have been the less disposed for accurate investigation when he found what at the first view might so well seem to suit his purpose. We may thus see the probable impression under which he wrote, and may somewhat account for his taking an equivocal expression in the Latin in a wrong acceptation: and thus his contradiction with Dion need no longer be considered an unexplained point of history.

We have mentioned before Mr. Hogg's Dissertation on the Inscription, which first supplied the correct date, and may now make a further reference to it, collecting from it the details which follow:—

1. Martinelli, in his *Roma Ricercata*, p. 263, third edition, says, that excavations being made in the year 1461, near the spot where the arch of Claudius Cæsar had stood—the situation of which had been pointed out by Ferruci, in his *Remarks on Fulvio's Roman Antiquities*—a large fragment of marble was found with the beginnings of nine lines, which were completed by Gauges di Gozzi. Three other inscriptions relating to the Claudian family were dug up about the same spot, sometimes called "Arco di Portogallo," being in fact situated on the celebrated Flaminian Way, or Il Corso. The edition of Donatus, which mentions the inscription, is the third printed in 1665, long after his death; consequently it has only the authority of his editor.

2. Subsequent to its discovery, it is spoken of by writers as preserved at Rome, the part broken off supplied by a new piece of marble fitted on to the original fragment, and the inscription supplied on the new part. This, it seems, if it now exists, Mr. Hogg did not see.

3. The inscription also was fresh cut out on a block of marble, the ancient and supplied part together, and fixed on a wall. This is the restoration which here stands first, and is the one which Mr. Hogg saw and copied.

4. Mr. Hogg supposes the sixteen days of Claudius' stay in



Britain, as mentioned by Dion Cassius, Book 60, a mistake for 60 days, *ἐκκαίδεκα* for *ἐξήκοντα*, which, indeed, seems the most feasible.

Thus we may dismiss this question, observing that the war in Britain, begun by Plautius and finished by Claudius, was the most important of any that occurred in the country in Roman times. The chief strength of the British power appears to have been broken after the important portion of the island which composed the dominions late of Cunobeline had been subdued; and all south of Lincolnshire soon after became a Roman province. It may also be observed, so well did they succeed in retaining these territories, that—with the exception of Boadicea's insurrection and the war of Arviragus, which last broke out with the Dobuni, as supposed, in Domitian's days, but of which there is no account—they had afterwards no revolts, threatening their domination here for upwards of 350 years. Nay, according to all appearance, they found most faithful allies in these Southern Britons against the Brigantes, Picts, and Scots. There must have been something exceedingly well arranged in the Roman system in their conquered provinces; and though we know not the details of it as put in force in Britain, yet one particular seems to have been the allowing the subordinate sway of native princes in most part of the kingdom, to which, before, allusion has been made.

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#### THE BRITISH CHRONICLES AND DION CASSIUS.

Having in the foregoing observations endeavoured to remove discrepancies in ancient writers relating to the first Roman conquests in Britain, we may now, in carrying out the same object, advert to another similar topic, showing certain deviations from fact in our ancient chronicles in describing the particulars which occurred, and pointing out the cause. First, however, we may make a short introductory remark.

Such of the transactions in the ancient British Chronicles as may be considered to apply either to the invasion of Aulus Plautius, the conquest of Claudius, or the subsequent campaigns, are far too rambling and incoherent, and obviously too remote from truth, to make it of any use to give even a general sketch of their story. Tysilio worked up the account he gives of these matters, which is somewhat in detail, and, at length, apparently from ancient British stories of romance, or other

distorted sources, adding his own colour and varnish to the whole. Geoffrey of Monmouth, when he translated Tysilio, made some few additions of his own; and from his misapprehensions caused in many respects even a further deviation from the truth.

In this way the original British account, undoubtedly itself much distorted, would have become subsequently still more so; first, in being made a subject of romance, and afterwards in undergoing a further transformation in the hands of the medieval chronicle writers. The narrative transmitted from this source thus becomes extremely indefinite: and it is even toilsome to ascertain in some places of what persons and events it intends to speak. With this preamble we may state, that having elsewhere succeeded in identifying, from numismatic sources and otherwise, the Lillius Hamon, *i. e.* the Illil Amwn of the chronicles, with the Bericus of Dion Cassius (see the *Coins of Cunobeline, &c.*, p. 249), and also Gwydyr and Gweyrydd with Togodubnus and Caractacus (*ibid.* p. 240), we here confine ourselves to one other point which presents itself.

First, we admit that the chronicles are apparently correct in assigning the landing to Caer Peris, or Portchester: but it is their subsequent use which they make of the name of this place, which may be considered an especial error, and on this we make our comment.

Both Dion Cassius and the chronicles are much in detail in describing the military transactions connected with the death of the valiant British king, Togodubnus. And as Dion has not suffered from romance writers or chroniclers, there is every reason to suppose that his statement is perfectly correct, which assigns them to the neighbourhood of London, our present metropolis. But the British Chronicles place very analogous transactions to those described by Dion at Portchester, in quite a different direction, and the inquiry now is, how the two accounts are to be reconciled.

The answer is, that the ancient British names of London and Portchester were so similar, that the one might easily be mistaken for the other. The Celtic name for London, there is every reason to suppose, was Llongdin, implying the "Ship-fortress:" no other derivation of the name of this now great and important city seems authentic, or indeed deserving attention. On the other hand, the British name of Portchester,

which was also called *Caer Peris*, we find, by comparison of the ancient Cambrian poet *Aneurin* with the *Saxon Chronicle* was *Llongborth*, that is, the "Ship-haven." It is admitted that there was a *din* or fortress at *Portchester*, as well as at *London*: and as *Ravennas*, the geographer, places a second *Londini* somewhere in the south of Britain, it is even possible that *Portchester* may have been the locality intended. However waiving this, it is only necessary to say that the import of the two names was so similar, as there was evidently a *Llongborth* or ship-haven at *Londinium*, and a *Llongdin* or ship-fortress at *Portchester*, that the two places, supposing them to have occurred in an ancient Celtic narrative, might easily be mistaken the one for the other. Thus we may surmise that *Tysilio*, the author of the earliest British Chronicle, made the misnomer, in which he was followed by *Geoffrey of Monmouth* and other succeeding chroniclers. Indeed, we need not entertain much doubt on the subject if we consider the whole facts of the case.

But, it may be inquired, whether the present explanation offered is attended with any irreconcilable inconsistencies and contradictions: and it may be replied, that it is not. Most particulars will be found to correspond sufficiently. For instance: the military transactions assigned by the chronicles to *Portchester* must, according to their account, have extended over a great tract of country. The same may be observed of those recorded by *Dion*, which took place near *London*, on the river *Lea*. Three places of crossing at least seem mentioned, the ford and the bridges higher up. According to the distance of two principal bridges from the ancient ford at *Bow*, those at *Waltham* and *Walthamstow*, the detached military operations must have extended about ten miles, which therefore well agrees. Coincidences might possibly be identified further; but the pointing out this leading one may suffice.

In *Dion Cassius* we may consider we have an approach to facts. We may, therefore, more safely rely on etymological or other reasons, or indications in reconciling the accounts of medieval writers to *Dion* in describing events concurrent with those of which he treats; that is, where the means of doing so obviously present themselves. There is the more interest in making the accordance of the two accounts as it is here, a British account, which we reconcile to one given by an ancient classic historian.

NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS  
OF  
ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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BOOK IV.  
BRITAIN SUBJUGATED.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE SPEECH OF CARACTACUS BEFORE CLAUDIUS.

THIS is recorded in Tacitus (*Annals*, xii, 37), and being in some parts not very well given in the usually received best translation of this author, that of Murphy, we may here endeavour to set it forth in an English dress a little more closely with the original; especially attempting to bring forward with clearness and precision the meaning of a passage or two in it, which have been hitherto considerably misunderstood.

It was on the occasion of the second triumph of Claudius in the year 51, for the conquest of Britain, that the historian informs us a grand spectacle was prepared. The troops were drawn up, the people summoned, and the emperor together with his court and empress assembled, the spoils taken in Britain exhibited, and Caractacus, his wife, daughter, and brothers, brought forth, when the British king, standing on the platform, thus addressed the emperor:—

“Si quanta nobilitas et fortuna mihi fuit, tanta rerum prosperarum moderatio fuisset, amicus potius in hanc urbem quam captus venissem: neque dedignatus esses claris majoribus ortum pluribus gentibus imperitantem fœdere pacis accipere. Præsens sors mea ut mihi informis sic tibi magnifica est: habui equos, viros, arma, opes; quid mirum si hæc invitus amisi? Non si vos omnibus imperitare vultis sequitur ut omnes servitutem accipiant. Si statim deditus traderer neque mea fortuna neque tua gloria inclaruisset: et supplicium mei oblivio sequetur; at si incolumem servaveris æternum exemplar clementiæ ero.”

This remarkable harangue may be thought to be best rendered thus: and we may examine the commencing portion of it first.

“If my prudent conduct in prosperity (*moderatio rerum prosperarum*) had been equal to my eminence and good fortune, I should have been more likely to have visited Rome as a friend than to have been brought here as a prisoner.”

He appears to allude here to transactions which occurred in Britain in which he was implicated, of which, from the loss of historical records, we can form but a very general idea. We have intimations in Dion and Suetonius of misunderstandings at the end of Cunobeline's reign, and at the beginning of that of his sons, which ultimately led to a rupture between Britain and Rome, but they are not specifically related. Generally, however, the purport of the first part of his speech is to this effect : (1) He alludes to his being one of the sons of Cunobeline, and heir of many of the states which composed the dominions of that sovereign ; (2) he refers to the point on which we have just remarked, namely, the dissatisfaction expressed by the Britons towards Rome at the time of Cunobeline's death, and afterwards ; and (3) he intimates and admits that he had been impolitic and precipitate in giving way with the other British princes to a feeling of resentment, and consequently opposing the Roman power.

Mr. Murphy, in his *Translation of Tacitus*, 4to, 1799, vol. ii, p. 75, renders the first part of the paragraph thus : "If to the nobility of my birth, and the splendour of my station, I had united the virtues of moderation," &c. Here he seems to mistake the sense of his author. The moderation meant by Tacitus, which Caractacus did not display, was not the refraining from wars of aggrandisement, but rather his want of a due deference to the Romans in the arrangements they proposed for Britain. However, the speech continues :—

"Nor would you have disdained to receive me, sprung as I am from illustrious ancestors and ruler of many states, as an ally in a treaty of peace."

This implies, (1) that the treaty of peace formerly made between the Romans and the various states to which we have before elsewhere adverted was considered as broken by the disputes with Rome just mentioned : but that Caractacus could have made a new treaty for himself and his particular states had he desired one ; and (2) this passage describes Caractacus' descent and sway in Britain. As to the first of these particulars, he being son of Cunobeline, grandson of Temancius, and great-grandson of Ludd, who was the son of Beli Mawr, *i. e.*, Belinus the Great, he might with justice say that he was descended from illustrious ancestors. As to his sway in Britain, we know that he was king of the Silures (Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 33), and that he was king of the Attre-

bates, there appear considerable indications from a coin which may be considered to have the name of Calleva, capital of the Attrebates, in the form CALLE on one face, and an imperfect inscription with fragments of his name on the other (see the *Coins of Cunobeline and the Ancient Britons*, p. 125). In addition to this, as it is to be presumed that he had other portions of his father's dominions as well, so the term "ruler of many states" (*pluribus gentibus imperitantem*) might have been perfectly applicable to him. The conclusion of this fine address we may translate thus :—

"My present lot, so humiliating to me, nevertheless reflects lustre on you. I was accustomed to have horses, troops, arms, and riches. Where is the wonder if I have been unwilling to lose them? Though you may aspire to universal empire, it does not follow that all should be willing to submit. (As to my prolonged resistance) had I been immediately betrayed and given up to you, (he apparently means when he took up arms after the capture of Camulodunum and Verulam), neither my misfortunes would have been so renowned or your glory. If you punish me, mere oblivion will attend the circumstance; but shield me from harm, and I will be a constant pattern of submission."

Here the riches of Caractacus are mentioned, which probably consisted of vestments, torques, rings, jewels, and money. As he describes himself to have been so eminent a prince, of course it is highly probable that among his treasures there were coins of his own reign and realm.

He says, "had I been immediately betrayed and given up." Here evidently some definite point of time was understood, though not expressed. This point of time could not have been A. D. 43, when the Romans invaded Britain, under Aulus Plautius; because, then the Britons had large armies and opposed the Romans with equal forces (see *Dion Cassius*, Book, lx), but the time meant, must have been after Camulodunum and Verulam were taken, and the peace thereupon made; when the British prince on resuming arms would have been in a far less promising position than before. This point of time has been accordingly noted in the translation in a parenthesis.

Mr. Murphy again in his translation misrenders this speech towards the end. He has the concluding part, "Preserve my life and I shall be to late posterity a monument of Roman clemency." Instead of this, Caractacus in the words of the speech, promises a constant submission or tractableness;

which is the meaning of the word "clementiæ" at that place, and not clemency on the part of the conquerors. The words of Tacitus are "eternum exemplar clementiæ ero."

The effect of this speech, Tacitus tells us, was, that the British hero, his wife, brothers (and daughter), who had all been brought before the Roman people together with him, were released; and in the next paragraph, the historian informs us, that the senators compared Caractacus to Syphax, conquered by Publius Scipio; and to Perseus, the Macedonian king, subdued by Paulus Æmilius.

As Cunobeline, his father, had much intercourse with the Romans, there is every probability that the speech of Caractacus was fluently and well expressed in Latin; and that thus, as well as by his manly manner, the Roman people were the more pleased that one they styled a barbarian should so eloquently plead his cause in their own tongue.

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NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS  
OF  
ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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BOOK IV.  
BRITAIN SUBJUGATED.

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CHAPTER V.

IMPERATORSHIPS OF THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS AS CONNECTED WITH  
CONQUESTS IN BRITAIN.

WE find that Claudius during his reign of thirteen years was saluted Emperor twenty-seven times. But few have attended to the events from which these distinctions were assumed. As besides the British wars there were no others during his reign except two apparently of minor importance and short duration, and the secondary one of the lesser potentates of Asia Minor, we may be able to show the source from which nearly all of them were derived, and to date many of the successes of his generals in this country. The being certain of the various years of his Tribunitia Potestas conjointly with his Emperorships in fact enables us to ascertain the dates. For though the Tribunitia Potestas might be conferred on any person of eminence,\* yet in his case we are sure from accurate historical information that it was not so. For instance: we are enabled to allege in corroboration the bad repute in which he was held by the emperors, his predecessors, not so much from his actual want of mental capacity as from his absurdity of manners. Suetonius (*Claudius*, 4) gives some deliberations which Augustus had on this point, whether he should or should not receive public offices of importance. These seem to have been concluded with the determination that the same might be done as far as his receiving the augural priesthood.

\* See the able work of Capt. Smyth on Roman Imperial Medals, 4to, 1834, p. 164. As an instance, the Emperor Commodus may be referred to, who was invested with the Tribunitia Potestas the 17th time when he had only reigned 12 years. There had been before a similar instance in Tiberius, on one of whose coins TR. POT. XXIII is expressed, when he had been emperor no more than about eight years. (See the same work, p. 17). Also, there is another coin of the same emperor with TR. POT. XXXVIII, though he did not reign quite twenty-three years. (*Ibid.* p. 18.)



It must have been twenty-eight or twenty-nine years after this that Tiberius at last appointed him Consul Suffectus for two months, for the remaining part of one of the years of his reign : and his name for the office appears in the list of consuls in the *Fasti Consulares*. But, what is particularly to our present purpose, there is no trace that the very responsible exercise of the Tribunitian Power was conferred upon him \* before he came to the throne.

Having this very useful commencing point in Claudius' Tribunitian honours, now as to assigning his Imperatorships : the first was necessarily at the time of his accession to the throne, as though the emperors were saluted Imperator each time their generals obtained any success ; yet this salutation was not omitted when they ascended the throne. (See Suetonius, *Claudius*, 10, and *Nero*, 8.) His second Imperatorship was probably acquired from the prompt suppression of the revolt of the legions, and commencing civil war in Dalmatia, mentioned by Suetonius (*Claudius*, 13) : and his third seems to have proceeded from his successes over the Moors by his general, Suetonius Paulinus, as recorded by Dion Cassius, and is assigned to A.D. 42. Three of his five Imperatorships in the year 47 it also seems best to assign to his victories over the Chauci, and other German nations. These are Imperatorships xiii, xiv and xv. Likewise Imperatorship xvi, we may here note, may have been, and probably was, for the conquest of Mithridates Bosphoranus, the potentate of Asia Minor. These seven being set apart from the rest, there is but little doubt that the other twenty Imperatorships apply solely to Britain, and were conferred for a series of British victories, of which the prior ones added a great part of Britain to the empire, and the others secured the conquest. We may now then proceed with a species of calendar by which we may endeavour to follow and arrange his Imperator-

\* Though in the times of the emperors two nominal tribunes continued to be elected, yet Augustus procured the Senate to vest in him the actual powers of the office, its exercise, as in the preceding times, being inconsistent with his position as emperor. (*Dion Cassius*, li, 19.) The same privilege was granted to succeeding emperors ; and they of course very rarely delegated it. The Tribunitian Power, at the time Augustus assumed it, gave the right of holding the Senate, of assembling the people, of being appealed to in all cases, as also it made his person sacred and inviolable in the same manner as the persons of the ancient Tribunes had always been considered sacred. (*Dion Cassius*, li, 19 ; liii, 17 ; liv, 3.)

ships and other titular distinctions for the elucidation of the ancient history of our island.

First, we must premise that this series must be based on that given by the celebrated Panvinus, in his *Fasti Consulares*, folio, 1588. Since though we are not able in all instances to trace on what historical documents or monumental evidences various particulars he furnishes are founded; yet the work is to be considered as one of general authority, and is not lightly to be set aside. The order given by Panvinus will therefore be followed in the following series, and where it is departed from a reason will be assigned. It will of course be observed that the time of year of assuming the Consulship and Tribunitian Power being different, the one occurring the 1st January, the other the 24th of the same month, makes the years of the one and the other sometimes vary. The designation to the Consulship took place the end of July or beginning of August. We may account it from the first of the latter month.

A. D. 41, A. U. C. 794. CLAUDIUS P(ONTIFEX) M(AXIMUS) TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE (FUNCTUS). IMPERATOR I AND II, COS. I. DESIGNATUS II. P(ATER) P(ATRIÆ).

REMARKS.—When the style of a Roman emperor is expressed on his coins, whether it be that of Claudius, or any other, when the Cos. Tribunitiâ Potestate or Imperatorship is put without any number, it does not follow that the first year is intended. Sometimes they omitted the numbers, though on the coins and inscriptions of Claudius they are frequently expressed.\* Observe, also, that after July of his first year the consulship would have been expressed, cos. I. DESIG(NATUS) II, and so in the same part of each year in which he was appointed consul for the following one.† Further, the Roman emperors were cos. II, III, &c., as might be, till they were appointed consuls again. It is similarly so with the numbers of their Imperatorships.

The correct forms of the style of Claudius have been given as above for the prior and latter parts of his first year. The

\* From some oversight, Captain Smyth says, in his work, p. 33, that it is a peculiarity of this reign that the date of the Tribunitian Power is omitted on the coins of Claudius, which is by no means the case on various of them.

† Suetonius says (*Claudius* 27), that Britannicus was born in the 20th day of his reign, and 2d consulship: probably an error in that author, as the *Fasti Consulares* do not make him consul a second time till the next year.

form given by Gruter applicable to this year, p. 188, No. 3, is TRIB. POT. COS. DESIG. II, IMP. II, which varies very slightly. It will be seen at a preceding page, that the Imperatorship ii was probably derived from suppression of a serious revolt in Dalmatia.\*

A. D. 42, A. U. C. 795. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE II. IMPERATOR II AND III. COS. II. DESIGNATUS III.

REMARKS.—This third Imperatorship seems to have been received because Suetonius Paulinus, general of Claudius, defeated the Moors this year, according to *Dion Cassius*, Book lx, 9.†

A. D. 43, A. U. C. 796. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE III. IMPERATOR III AND IV. COS. I.

REMARKS.—Claudius, though Imperator iii the preceding year, would have of course retained that title the present year, till saluted Imperator iv, as before observed. His fourth Imperatorship this year was, without doubt, for the successes of his general, Aulus Plautius, over the Britons in the first year of the war; for his three victories, namely, that over Caractacus, the second over Togodubnus, and the third over the general muster of the British forces on the banks of the Severn. Claudius had not yet begun the custom of assuming the title of Imperator for each separate victory.

There is a medal of Claudius: obverse, the laureated head of the emperor to the right, inscription, TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR. AVG. PM. TR. P. IMP. PP.; reverse, the figure of Hope holding out a flower to three soldiers, inscription, SPES AVG, supposed to have been struck preparatory to the intended expedition to Britain. See Capt. Smyth's *Roman Imperial Large Brass Medals*, 4to, 1834, p. 35, for the genuineness of this coin, and its application. A second medal nearly similar in obverse

\* Suetonius gives but a very slight account of this insurrection, merely acquainting us that *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, the legate of Dalmatia, raised a civil war, but was overpowered in five days. Not informing us further of the object, motives, and proceedings of the chief actors on this occasion.

† We have the conquest related thus in this author: (See *Reimar's* edition, vol. ii, p. 947), namely, that A. U. C. 795, Claudius, the second time, and A. LARGUS, being consuls, Suetonius Paulinus defeated the Moors, and ravaged their country as far as the Atlantic. Also, that in the same year Cn. Hosidius Geta, after him, making an expedition, defeated Salabus, leader of the Moors, once and twice; and that afterwards pursuing them, Geta's troops nearly perished with thirst, but were relieved by a timely rain procured, according to *Dion*, by the incantations of a native magician.

and reverse, but having the legend of the obverse, **NERO DRVSVS GERMANICUS IMP.** is supposed spurious.

A. D. 44, A. U. C. 797. **CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE IV. IMPERATOR IV AND V. COS. III.**

REMARKS.—There are scarcely sufficient documents to illustrate this important year, that of Claudius' expedition to Britain. It is here judged that only one Imperatorship belongs to it. The inscription, it is true, in Gruter, p. 176, No. 4, is adverse to this, which, in the form in which it is given, reads **TR. POT. IV. COS. III. IMP. VIII.** Supported by the authority of Panvinus and other authorities, we may deem that the number of the Tribunitia Potestas which Gruter gives, is a mistake for that of the succeeding year; *i.e.* the IV for V, a not impossible mistake in transcribing a defaced and, perhaps, somewhat illegible inscription.

However, as to this fifth Imperatorship, we may understand that it was conferred for the defeat of the Britons by Claudius himself after his arrival in the island; for the surrender of Camulodunum and Verulam, and the submission of the British kings.

This year was especially notable for the triumph of Claudius after his return from his expedition to Britain, as we are informed by Suetonius (*Claudius*, 17), by Dion Cassius (lx, 22, 23), and by Cassiodorus in his *Annals*, and by Eusebius in his *Chronicle*. This took place six months after he had set out from Rome. This triumph is described in *Dion Cassius* (lx, 23). We find that triumphal arches and annual games were decreed to him on this occasion, and his empress, Messalina, followed the triumphal car in her own carriage in the procession (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 17). C. Crispinus and T. Statilius Taurus were consuls this year, and the event was, without doubt, as fully detailed by Tacitus, in the ninth or tenth book of his *Annals*, as the second triumph was, which took place some years afterwards; but those books are lost.

There are several coins commemorating the triumph of Claudius. One, in silver, mentioned by Mr. Akerman, in his *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, 8vo, 1844, p. 16, is in the British Museum collection. Obverse, laureated head of the emperor to the left, inscription, **TI. CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. GERM. PM. TR. P.** Reverse, the emperor in a quadriga, his right hand on the rim of the chariot, his left holding a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, inscription, **DE BRITANNIS.** This

coin, though without date, appears to commemorate the first triumph. There is another coin of Claudius in gold: on the Obverse, TR. P. IV; Reverse, a triumphal car with four horses, inscription, EX. S.C. A third coin in silver, exactly the same, and a fourth in brass: Obverse, head of Claudius, with a laureate crown; Reverse, banner, two shields, and military ensigns; inscription, DE BRITANNIS, S.C. All these probably relate to this occasion.

A. D. 45, A. U. C. 798. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE V. IMPERATOR V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, AND X. COS. III.

REMARKS.—The number of Emperorships assumed this year by Claudius may have led to the remark relative to this point by Dion Cassius, that he was saluted oftentimes Emperor for victories in the same war, which was not customary.\* The five new Emperorships this year, viz., Emperorships vi, vii, viii, ix, and x, it is hardly doubtful, were assigned for the victories of Vespasian in Britain over the Belgæ and Dumnonii, which war we may understand was now carried on with great vigour. We may conceive that it somewhat surprised the Roman people, to see this high honour received so many times in the same year, for victories gained by a single legion and auxiliaries, as is supposed to have been Vespasian's force, and its commander not a consul, but merely a legatus or lieutenant-general; however, the custom begun this year, seems to have been continued through the remainder of the reign of Claudius.

For this year Gruter has an inscription, p. 237, No. 8, TR. POT. V. COS. III. DESIG. IV. IMP. XI, but it seems more properly to belong to the next year; and the TRIB. POT. V. must have been misread for TRIB. POT. VI, which might easily have been the case were the stone somewhat defaced. Inscriptions are extremely good evidence if we are sure they are correctly read; but as the *Fasti Consulares* and Dion both place Claudius' fourth consulship in A. D. 800, it would be wrong

\* Dion's words are:—"Ἀυτοκράτωρ πολλάκις ἐκωνομάσθη παρὰ τὰ πάτρια οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν οὐδενι πλέον ἢ ἀπ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐπικλησιν ταύτην λαβεῖν." That is, he was designated Emperor many times, contrary to the proper custom, for that it was only usual to receive that distinction once for the same war. (*Book* lx, 27.) How far succeeding emperors followed the example of Claudius with regard to the Emperorships, we are not informed. The anecdote reported of Domitian, that he took ten consulships in anticipation, in order to number more than his predecessors, is not correct; since the *Fasti Consulares* show the date of the years in which he received each of his seventeen consulships.

to advance the authority of an inscription against such testimony. However, it seems that Havercamp, in his edition of Josephus, has accommodated his restoration of the passage in the *Antiquities* (Book xx, 1), to this reading of Gruter's. The formula there, being the heading of a letter from Claudius, runs thus:—CLAVDIVS. CAESAR. GERMANICVS. TRIB. POT. V. CONSVL. DESIGNATVS. IV. IMP. X. PATER PATRIÆ. This passage is variously and corruptly given in manuscript copies of this author; and, according to the year of Tribunitia Potestas, should read *Claudius Cæsar Germanicus Trib. Pot. v. Consul iii. Imp. x. Pater Patriæ.*

A. D. 46, A. U. C. 799. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE VI. IMPERATOR X AND XI, COS. III. DESIG. IV.

REMARKS.—Panvinus and the *Fasti Consulares* may correct Gruter here, by whose inscription we have seen he would have been consul iv. this year, not the next. Vespasian seems now to have finished his contest with the Belgæ and Dumnonii, defeated all their forces, taken their towns, and captured the Isle of Wight. Imperatorship xi was apparently the distinction with which this was commemorated.

A. D. 47, A. U. C. 800. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE VII. IMPERATOR XI, XII, XIII, XIV, AND XV. COS. IV.

REMARKS.—This year began with the Ovation granted by Claudius to Aulus Plautius, his eminent commander, who first carried the Roman arms to Britain. Dion informs us it took place when Claudius was in his fourth consulship, and L. Vitellius in his third, which was this year. This Ovation to Plautius is mentioned as well by Suetonius (*Claudius*, 24), Tacitus (*Annals*, xiii, 32), and Eutropius (viii, 13). His great wish to do every honour to Plautius on occasion of this lesser triumph is very evident from the accounts. He walked himself in the procession to the Capitol, and placed him on his right hand. From this circumstance there is the greater probability that Claudius would cause coins to be struck to celebrate the event. It is from this reason that Mr. Hogg, an able writer, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. iii, 1839, p. 279, has assigned two well known coins accordingly. The first is in gold and silver. Obverse, laureated head of Claudius to the right, inscription, TI CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. VI. IMP. XI. Reverse, an equestrian statue on a triumphal arch between two trophies, inscribed

DE BRITANNIS, which last word is varied in its form on some types to BRITAN. or BRITANN. The second coin is given in Mediobarbus. It has the same date on the obverse ; and on the reverse, the figure of Fortune standing with her usual emblem of the rudder, inscription BRITANNIA. This coin, however, is somewhat doubted. An inscription in Gruter, p. 113, No. 1, gives this form, TR. POT. VII. COS. IV. IMP. XV, which refers to one of the later Emperorships of this same year.

Though Aulus Plautius was honoured with an Ovation this year, yet he appears to have returned again from Rome to his government, and to have remained there for about two years afterwards. This the rather appears, as there seems no indication that Vespasian was ever Proprætor in Britain. Indeed, the inference is, that when they afterwards left Britain, they quitted the island nearly together.

The first Emperorship of this year, the Emperorship xi, it will be seen more properly belongs to the preceding year, and is to be assigned to conquests in Britain ; while Emperorship xii must be connected with the Ovation. The other three Emperorships this year it seems most judicious to refer to Claudius' German war, carried on with the Chauci and other states, in which great successes seem to have been obtained by Corbulo, the emperor's eminent general. (See *Dion Cassius*, lx, 30.)\* Indeed, it is probable enough that a legion or two, or a considerable body of troops, may have been temporarily detached from Britain to assist in this war, which, if it were done, might cause the Romans to assume a defensive attitude merely ; and it is somewhat singular that it was this year, as we are informed by the same author, that Vespasian, then a general, as we have seen, in Britain under the emperor, was nearly cut off by the Britons.

As to Claudius' appellation of Germanicus, it had no

\* *Dion Cassius* relates in the above passage that A. U. C. 800, Claudius the fourth time, and L. Vitellius the third time, being consuls, Cn Domitius Corbulo having drawn his troops together conquered (vexavit) several of the German tribes and especially the Chauci ; that Claudius recalled him through envy ; that he (Corbulo) received a triumph, and was again sent out commander to Germany ; and that peace having taken place, he made a ditch from the Rhine to the Moselle, 170 stadia long. The Chauci, it may be added, were a people in the north of Germany on its western shores, divided into two denominations, the Chauci majores south of the Jutland, Sleswick, and Holstein, the Chauci Minores immediately south of the Weser. There are coins of Claudius inscribed DE GERMANIS.

reference to his successes gained over the Germans this year. Suetonius informs us that it was a cognomen which had been granted by the Senate to his father Drusus Nero and his posterity (*Claudius*, 1). It was not indeed Claudius' own cognomen in the first instance, but he assumed it when his elder brother Cæsar Germanicus was adopted into the Julian family (*Claudius*, 2).

A. D. 48, A. U. C. 801. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE VIII. IMPERATOR  
XV. COS. IV. CENSOR.

REMARKS.—Claudius still remaining Imperator xv, this year, either denotes the ill success of the Romans, or a suspension of hostilities in Britain.\* Claudius became also at this time Censor, it being the seventy-fourth lustrum.

A. D. 49, A. U. C. 802. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE IX. IMPERATOR  
XV, XVI, AND XVII. COS. IV.

REMARKS.—This year being that in which the Pomœrium or boundary of Rome was enlarged, which was considered an occasion of much solemnity, inscriptions seem to have been more than usually multiplied. There is the celebrated one in Gruter of this date, recording the enlargement of the Pomœrium: also that found at Wokely Hole, in Somersetshire, on a plate of lead, first mentioned by Leland, in his *Collectanea*, Appendix, part 1st, p. 45, and afterwards recorded by Camden and others. This reads TI CLAUDIUS CÆSAR AUG. P. M. TRIB. P. IX. IMP. XVI. DE BRITAN. Further, there were coins issued the same in their obverses and reverses as those mentioned in the preceding page, but with the date altered to TRIB. POT. IX. IMP. XVI. The words DE BRITAN. on the plate of lead and the coins do not show that the Imperatorship xvi was obtained for successes in Britain. In fact, they may be rather viewed as associating conquests together made in different parts of the world, and alluded to in the inscriptions of this period, to do the emperor the greater honour. For in the course of this year took place the victory over Mithridates Bosphoranus, to which we should duly attribute the Imperatorship xvi. The

\* However, an inscription is given TRIB. POT. VIII. IMP. XVI. COS. IV. PP. CENSOR. (See *Reinesius*, iii, 80, and Spon's *Miscellanea Erudita Antiqua*, p. 100.) But there may be a doubt whether the viii in this inscription, be not wrongly copied for viiii; the form TRIB. POT. IX. IMP. XVI. and COS. IV. being so common.



following one, Imperatorship xvii, seems to refer to Britain again, as it is best assigned to successes obtained when Ostorius Scapula assumed the command, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel.

To corroborate our appropriation of the two Imperatorships. It seems nearly impossible that they could have both been for Britain this particular year; as it was now the time when Aulus Plautius and Vespasian are considered to have left, and when the Belgæ and Dumnonii are believed to have been altogether subdued. Nor does anything in particular appear to have taken place in the quarter of the Silures and Ordovices, as their position seems to have remained as before, on the arrival of Ostorius Scapula, about November of the year 49; the same indeed as it had been in the anterior year 44. We do not then assign both these Imperatorships to Britain, but, on the contrary, in the way we have before intimated.

A. D. 50, A. U. C. 803. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE X. IMPERATOR XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, AND XXI. COS. IV. DESIGNATUS V.

REMARKS.—These are as in Panvinus. Gruter has in partial confirmation, though not quite satisfactorily, p. 113, No. 3, TR. POT. X. IMP. XIII. COS. IV. DESIG. V.; but an inscription is given in Panvinus in another part at p. 201, with the date TP. X. COS. IV. IMP. XXI, which is not contradicted by any other documents of this kind, and may be received as authority. The four Imperatorships this year are to be attributed to the successes of the Roman Proprætor, Ostorius Scapula, in Britain, who seems to have arrived there about the beginning of November the previous year, “cœptâ hieme,” as Tacitus expresses it. The passage in Tacitus where his arrival is mentioned should in due course assign it to A. D. 50, but the historian refers to it as having mentioned it before, and it would be highly improbable to suppose November, A. D. 50, was meant; and this the rather appears, as Vespasian was consul A. D. 51, besides having twice received high offices in the priesthood, which implies that he had left Britain at least two years. About which time, as had been before observed, there appears indication that Aulus Plautius also left. To the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years of Claudius, at a shortly ensuing page, a few observations may possibly be added with advantage, in the endeavour to assign the dates of the proceedings of Ostorius and his successor Didius.

A. D. 51, A. U. C. 804. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE XI. IMPERATOR XXI, XXII, XXIII, AND XXIV. COS. V.

REMARKS.—Some reasons will presently be assigned for considering Imperatorship xxii to have been obtained for the victory over Caractacus, (see the *Annals* of Tacitus, xii, 35.) This would connect the Imperatorship xxii with Claudius' second triumph; and admitting the Barberini inscription, which has been elsewhere investigated in these pages, to apply to this second triumph of the emperor on account of the conquest of Caractacus, we may supply with sufficient accuracy the wanting parts of the date of that inscription, and make the same to be TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE XI. IMPERATOR XXII. COS. V. Imperatorships xxiii and xxiv, we will endeavour to account for presently. Of the three formulæ for this year, Gruter only confirms the last, having an inscription, p. 188, No. 6, TRP. XI. COS. V. IMP. XXIV.. He has another, however, confirming the year of the consulship, a point of importance, as relative to these inquiries. The inscription was found under the new church of St. Peter in the Vatican, in the year 1596, and is at p. 300, No. 1, of his work, and reads, (TI) CLAVDIO CAESARE AVG. GERMAN. V. (SE)R CORNELIO ORFITO COS PR C AMV DCCCIII. The triumph which Claudius had on occasion of the conquest of Caractacus is neither mentioned by Suetonius nor Dion Cassius. That there was originally an account of this his second triumph in the work of this latter author there is no reason to doubt, because he says, speaking of Claudius, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑκαστον ὃν ἐποίησεν, that is, "I will mention each particular thing that he did." But it seems to be sufficiently clear that the history of Dion after it was written was transcribed from time to time in a shorter form. In still later times in the twelfth century, the abridgment of Xiphilinus was made, which, at the same time as it preserves us so much of this author in a condensed form, is also probably the real reason of his works in full being so defective in many places.

The circumstances of this second triumph seem to have been arranged so that they should as much as possible resemble the first. As Messalina followed in her car on the first occasion, so Agrippina attended on this, and as Hosidius Geta received the triumphal ornaments before, so Ostorius Scapula now received them; Claudius appearing, according to the accounts, to pay the same attention to the details on each

occasion. The second triumph is only alluded to by Tacitus. Pliny (book xxx, 16), where he speaks of a triumph of Claudius, and mentions the weight of two massive crowns of gold, whereof one was presented by Hispania Citerior, the other by Gallia Comata, probably refers to the first.

After all, some doubt may be expressed, as before observed, whether this was a triumph at all, or an occasion of public ceremony and rejoicing. However, the expression in Tacitus (*Histories*, iii, 36), who calls it a triumph, can scarcely be otherwise than followed.

The opinion of Mr. Hogg in his paper on the Barberini Inscription, before alluded to, that that inscription had reference to this triumph, seems to be the most reasonable supposition which we can entertain. It may be presumed, however, that the twenty-second Imperatorship is more correctly assigned, as here, to this triumph, than the twenty-fourth, as Mr. Hogg supposes, since we find the death of Ostorius Scapula ensued so soon after the conquest, and since Imperatorship xxiv seems to have been acquired in a different part of Britain, and in another war with which his name is not mentioned in connection; the concluding transactions, however, of Ostorius in Britain are rather slightly mentioned by Tacitus, which renders us unable to be more particular on the point. There is, it is believed, only one coin attributed to this triumph, which may be found in Vaillant, having on the obverse, a laurelled head of Claudius, and on the reverse, a figure of Victory, having her right foot on a globe, and the inscription VICTORIA AVGVST. Vaillant ascribes this to the first triumph; but Mr. Hogg seems very properly to think, in his paper on the Barberini Inscription, that it is best ascribed to the second. It has no date.

A. D. 52, A. U. C. 805. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE XII. IMPERATOR XXIV, XXV, XXVI, AND XXVII. COS. V.

REMARKS.—Panvinus and other authorities agree in these Imperatorships. Gruter has TR. POT. COS. V. IMP. XXVII, p. 176, No. 1. We may in the sequel endeavour to assign from what source they are derived.

A. D. 53, A. U. C. 806. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE XIII. IMPERATOR XXVII. COS. V.

REMARKS.—The Imperatorship continuing the same, denotes that peace was now prevailing in Britain.

A. D. 54, A. U. C. 807. CLAUDIUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE XIV.  
IMPERATOR XXVII. COS. V.

REMARKS.—Still signs of peace in Britain. Claudius dies this year, the third ides of October; that is, the thirteenth of that month. His decease concluded certainly a most eventful reign, as regarded Britain. His conduct seems marked with much ability in all that concerned this island; and now began the career of Britain as a province of the Roman empire.

The transactions of the two proprætors who ruled in Britain during the last years of Claudius' reign, are now to be treated of. Ostorius Scapula is supposed to have arrived here, as we have seen, about the beginning of November, in the year 49. Soon afterwards he overthrew the Britons and chased them away from the parts where they had collected (*Annals*, xii, 31), which event, though somewhat cursorily narrated by Tacitus, would seem to have conferred on the emperor Imperatorship xvii. During the winter of the year 49-50, Ostorius appears to have constructed his line of forts, extending along the Severn and Warwickshire Avon, (cintosque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat.—*Annals*, xii, 31); and in the spring he seems to have defeated the Icenii Coritani and their allies, which obtained, as may be deemed, Imperatorship xviii for the emperor. He shortly afterwards overran the country of the Cangi (*Annals*, xii, 32); as also, it appears by the context, that of the Ordovices: for it is said they came near to the Irish sea, "haud procul mari quod Hiberniam insulam adspectat," (*ibid.*): and these two states thus partially subdued apparently afforded the emperor the Imperatorship xix. Ostorius then defeated the insurgent Brigantes (*ibid.*); the nature of whose commotion is not explained, and which appears to have been previous to those other contests respecting Venusius and Vellocatus, which furnished the Romans a second pretext for interfering. Hence might have been Imperatorship xx. Further the *Annals*, xii, 33, imply that he had overrun and conquered the country of the Silures, whence the Imperatorship xxi may have been derived. These several transactions bring us down to the conclusion of the year 50, and it seems to have been some time during the course of this year 50 that the colony of Camulodunum was founded. According to Tacitus (*Annals*, xii, 32), the intention of it seems to have been that it might

form a point of security in the eastern part of Britain while the war in other parts of the island was going on. For Tacitus in that place observes, in mentioning that Ostorius marched against the Brigantes, that he was steadfast in his purpose not to undertake new enterprises until his former acquisitions were rendered secure; and then he adds that the nation of the Silures continued unquiet, and goes on further to say, that he might obtain his said purpose more speedily, that is, of securing parts already subdued: a colony of veterans had been established at Camulodunum. The above seems to afford considerable indications of the colony having been founded this year; which is two years earlier than commonly supposed; however, we will presently recur again to this point.

In the next year 51, Ostorius defeated Caractacus. It seems to have been very early in the year, if the site of this engagement is correctly placed at Caer Caradoc, in Shropshire, as supposed, for the stream of the rivulet at the foot of the hill is represented by Tacitus as considerable, which seems to show it was in a somewhat flooded state. However for this victory and subsequent surrender of Caractacus, a triumph was granted, as before noted, and triumphal insignia to Ostorius; but it does not appear that he repaired personally to Rome; nor did the Silures long remain quiet; for several cohorts employed in erecting forts in their territories were surprised and very nearly cut off, and several troops of horse put to flight. Ostorius checked them in a severe engagement (*Annals*, xii, 39), whence the emperor appears to have obtained his Imperatorship xxiii, and Ostorius seems soon after to have died; his constitution being represented as sinking under the harassing toils he had undergone.

Aulus Didius was quickly sent by Claudius as præpator. In the interim, the legion commanded by Manlius Valens had been defeated by the Brigantes; but Didius seems to have arrived in time to repulse the enemy before this year was expired (*Annals*, xii, 40), whence the Imperatorship xxiv may be considered to have been derived. The next year 52, Didius's commanders seem to have defeated the Brigantes twice (*Annals*, xii, 40), which two victories appear to have been the occasion of Imperatorships xxv and xxvi. While Imperatorship xxvii was in all probability obtained by the emperor from the final victory which concluded the war with the

Brigantes, though the same is not mentioned by Tacitus. This Imperatorship xxvii was the last in the reign of Claudius; but he continued on the throne about two years longer.

There is a coin of the colony of Camulodunum usually attributed to the invention of Goltzius. It is engraved by him and referred to by Hardouin, Selden, and others; but it does not appear that any other person except Goltzius professed to have seen the original coin. It is described as of copper; Obverse, head of the emperor to the right, inscription, TI CLAVD. CAES. AVG. GER. P.M. TR. P. XII. IMP. XIII. Reverse, a male figure driving two bullocks at plough with a whip; inscription above the heads of all three, COL. CAMALODON. AVG. This has been supposed a copy or fabrication from the coin of Colonia Claudiopolis in Isauria in Asia Minor, but the reverses are essentially different. That there were coins struck of Camulodunum can scarcely be doubted. The question is, whether this be one of them. If genuine, it should preferably be TR. P. X. PP. mistaken for TR. P. XII.; but whether genuine or not, this coin has probably been greatly the occasion of the date of founding the colony of Camulodunum being placed in the year 52 instead of the year 50.

A certain amount of elucidation has thus been afforded for the times of Claudius; coins, inscriptions and the honorary distinctions of each year supplying, in a great measure, what would otherwise be irreparable, the loss of historical records. The following diagrams, however, will best express the official divisions of the years severally of this reign as connected with the Imperatorships.

STYLE OF CLAUDIUS IN THE DIFFERENT YEARS OF HIS REIGN.

A. D. 41, A. U. C. 794.

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Tribunitiâ Potestate from 21st of Feb.											
Imperator from ditto, and the same year Imp. ii.											
Succeeded to Consulship from the same time.											
								Cos. desig. ii.			







A. D. 50, A. U. C. 803.

TP IX	Trib. Pot. x.
Imperator xvii, xviii, xix, xx, and xxi.	
Cos. iv.	
Cos. desig. v.	

A. D. 51, A. U. C. 804.—YEAR OF CLAUDIUS' SECOND TRIUMPH.

TP X	Trib. Pot. xi.
Imperator xxi, xxii, xxiii, and xxiv.	
Cos. v.	

A. D. 52, A. U. C. 805.

TP XI	Trib. Pot. xii.
Imperator xxiv, xxv, xxvi, and xxvii.	
Cos. v.	

A. D. 53, A. U. C. 806.

TP XII	Trib. Pot. xiii.
Imperator xxvii.	
Cos. v.	

A. D. 54, A. U. C. 807.—CLAUDIUS DIES OCT. 13TH.

TP XIII	
	Trib. Pot. xiv.
	Imp. xxvii.
	Cos. v.

IMPERATORSHIPS AND TITLES OF CLAUDIUS IN VARIOUS YEARS OF HIS REIGN, FROM ECKHEL'S 'DOCTRINA NUMMORUM VETERUM.' 4to. Vienna, 1795, vol. vi, pp. 248-250.

This is inserted as giving some few variations, and is corrected in places where obviously erroneous.

(A. D. 41), A. U. C. 794. IMP. II. TR. P. COS. DESIG. II. The Imperatorship for victories over the Germans.

(A. D. 42), A. U. C. 795. IMP. III. TR. P. II. COS. DES. III (inscription at Ravenna, in *Gruter*, p. 237, 5). Imperatorship for the concluding the Mauritanian war and the conquests over the Germans by Galba and Gabinius in the (A. D. 41 and 42, *i. e.*), A. U. C. 794 and 795.\*

(A. D. 43 and 44), A. U. C. 796 (and to Jan. 24th) 797. IMP. III. TR. P. III. COS. III., inscription in *Muratori*, p. 225, 9.

Same year. IMP. III. TR. P. III., on coins.

(A. D. 44 and 45), A. U. C. 797, 798. IMP. VII. TR. P. IV. COS. III. *Muratori*, p. 445, 3.

Same years. IMP. VIII. TR. P. IV. COS. IV. *Gruter*, p. 176, 4.

(A. D. 45), A. U. C. 798. IMP. X. TR. P. V. COS. DESIG. IV. *Gruter*, p. 238. Eckhel also considers this the true reading of the date of Claudius' epistle in Josephus; but the inscription in *Gruter* must have been wrongly transcribed, as clearly appears. (See the subsequent pages 380 and 382.)

(A. D. 45, 46), A. U. C. 798, 799. IMP. XI. TR. P. V. COS. DESIG. IV. *Gruter*, 176, 5, and *Muratori*, p. 2007, 2.

\* Dion Cassius assigns the successes of Galba and Gabinius to the year 41 (*Book* ix, 8); but, according to Suetonius (*Galba*, 6), it may be inferred that the victories were gained in the reign of Caligula, though Galba certainly received the triumphal honours on the accession of Claudius (*Galba*, 8). It may therefore possibly be very doubtful whether Claudius' Imperatorship ii could have been thence derived.

An inscription in Gruter, at Castrum Polliniacum in Gaul, p. 39, has the reading TR. P. V. IMP. XI. COS. IV. Lebœuf, who had seen it himself, confirmed the reading. (LT. XXV. *Hist.* p. 143). Eckhel says that to agree with a true date it must have been on the marble, either TR. P. VI. OR COS. DESIG. IV. Probably the first.

(A. D. 46, 47), A. U. C. 799 (and to Jan. 24th) 800. IMP. XI. TR. P. VI., on coins.

(A. D. 47), A. U. C. (800). IMP. XII. TR. P. VII. COS. IV., inscription in Donatus, p. 211, 8, and Reinesius, i, 250.

Same year. IMP. XIV. TR. P. VII., from coins.

(A. D. 48), A. U. C. 801 (Eckhel has erroneously 800 and 801). IMP. XV. TR. P. VII. COS. IV. CENSOR, inscription in Gruter, p. 113, 1. There was at this time war with the Germans and Britons.

(A. D. 49), A. U. C. (802). IMP. XVI. TR. P. VIII., inscription in *Spon's Miscellanies*, p. 200.

(A. D. 49, 50), A. U. C. 802, 803. IMP. XVI. TR. P. IX, from coins, and an inscription in Gruter, p. 196, 4. In the year (A. D. 49), A. U. C. 802, Mithridates Bosphoranus was conquered and taken.

Same years (to Jan. 24th, A. D. 50). IMP. XVII OR XVIII. and TR. P. IX., from coins.

(A. D. 50 and 51), A. U. C. 802 (and to Jan. 24th), 803. IMP. XVIII. TR. P. X., from coins.

(A. D. 50), A. U. C. 803 (802). TR. P. X. COS. IV. DESIG. V. IMP. XIX (18). Inscription in Gruter, p. 113, 3. Wars in Britain and Germany are recorded in this year.

(A. D. 51, 52), A. U. C. 804, 805 (803, 804). IMP. XXIV. TR. P. XI. COS. V. Inscription in Gruter, p. 188, 6.

(A. D. 52), A. U. C. 805, 806 (804). IMP. XXVII. TR. P. XII. Inscription on the Esquiline Gate in *Frontinus de Aqueductis*, art. 13. This author adds in his preface, vol. v, *Ant. Hercul.*, the date iii idus Decembris (11th December), erroneously applying the date to A. U. C. 805.

(A. D. 53, 54), A. U. C. 806, 807 (A. U. C. 805, and to 24th Jan. 806). IMP. XXVII. TR. P. XIII. Inscription in *Muratori*, p. 225, 7.

IMPERATORSHIPS AND TITLES OF CLAUDIUS, AS IN CLINTON'S  
'FASTI ROMANI.' 4to, 1845.

This author takes his groundwork from Eckhel. The following are extracts applying to the present purpose.

A. D. 41. Claudius ascends the throne. Successes of Galba and Gabinius in Germany (*Dion Cassius*, lx, 8). Claudius restores Mithridates, the Iberian, to his dominions; of which he had been dispossessed by Caligula; makes another Mithridates his relation king of Bosphorus, and gives Polemon instead the government of another region in Cilicia.

A. D. 42. Claudius' titles this year connected with chronology: COS. II. TRIB. POT., from coins in *Eckhel*, vol. vi, p. 239. Suetonius Paulinus and Geta conquer the Mauritanians (*Dion Cassius*, lx, 9).

A. D. 43. TRIB. POT. III. IMP. V., from coins in *Eckhel*, vol. vi, p. 240. Claudius was appointed COS. III. this year with L. Vitellius, though the same does not appear on coins and inscriptions.

A. D. 44. TRIB. POT. IV., from a coin in *Eckhel*, vol. vi, 240.

A. D. 45. TRIB. POT. V. IMP. X. COS. DESIG. IV. in an inscription in *Gruter*, and the same in another inscription. There is a manifest error in both, though easy to rectify, which appears to have been overlooked by *Eckhel* and *Clinton*. Havercamp was deceived by these inscriptions, or one of them, and restored the date in Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx, 1, so as to agree with them. Whereas Cassiodorus and other authorities show that he could not have been COS. DESIG. IV. till August, A. D. 46, in the sixth year of his Tribunitian power. Read then TRIB. POT. VI. for TRIB. POT. V.

A. D. 46. TRIB. POT. VI. IMP. XI DE BRITANNIS, from coins in *Eckhel*.

A. D. 47. TRIB. POT. VII. IMP. XIV., from coins in *Eckhel*, and TRIB. POT. VII. IMP. XV. COS. IV., and CENSOR from inscriptions in *Gruter*, p. 113, Claudius appointed COS. IV. this year with L. Vitellius iii.

A. D. 48.

A. D. 49. TRIB. POT. IX., from coins in *Eckhel*.

A. D. 50. TRIB. POT. X. IMP. XVIII., and TRIB. POT. X.

IMP. XIIX, from coins in *Eckhel*, and TRIB. POT. X. IMP. XIIX. COS. IV, DESIG. V, from inscription in *Gruter*, No. 6, p. 113.

Mr. Clinton erroneously considers the war in Britain with Caractacus to have ended this year; and Tacitus, having stated that it lasted nine years, supposes it began in the year before the invasion 42.

A. D. 51. TRIB. POT. XI. COS. V., from a coin in *Eckhel*, and TRIB. POT. XI. IMP XXIV. COS. V., from inscription in *Gruter*, p. 188. Claudius was appointed cos. v. this year with Cornelius Orfitus, and Vespasian was made Consul Suffectus. Domitian was born this year in the consulship of his father.

A. D. 52. TRIB. POT. XII. COS. V. IMP. XXVII., from inscription in *Gruter*, p. 176, and Burgess' *Topography of Rome*, vol. ii, p. 376. Naval combat of the Lake Fucinus this year.

A. D. 53. TRIB. POT. XIII. IMP. XXVII., from an inscription quoted by *Eckhel*, vol. vi, p. 250.

A. D. 54. Claudius dies.

EXPLANATIONS.—As we have ventured to differ so materially from *Eckhel*, *Gruter*, and *Muratori*, as to the years 44 and 45, it becomes the author to assign his reason in following *Panvinius* against modern authorities. This will be best done by giving the first five years of the reign of the emperor Claudius, as in the authorities above mentioned, and then showing from *Dion Cassius*, the *Fasti Consulares*, and *Cassiodorus*, that they must necessarily be wrong.

The series will accordingly be thus :—

TRIB. POT. I. (COS. I).

TRIB. POT. IMP. II. COS. I. COS. DESIG. II.

TRIB. POT. II. COS. II. DESIG. III.

TRIB. POT. II. IMP. III. COS. DESIG. III. *Gruter*, 237, 5.

(Britain invaded), TRIB. POT. III. COS. III.

TRIB. POT. III. IMP. III. COS. III. *Muratori*, 225, 9.

TRIB. POT. III. IMP. III. *Eckhel*, from coins.

(Claudius' triumph), TRIB. POT. IIII. COS. III.

TRIB. POT. IV. IMP. VII. COS. III. *Muratori*, 445, 3.

TRIB. POT. IV. IMP. VIII. COS. IV. *Gruter*, 176, 4.

(British victories), TRIB. POT. V. COS. III.

TRIB. POT. V. IMP. X. COS. DESIG. IV. *Gruter*, p. 238.

TRIB. POT. V. IMP. X. COS. DESIG. IV. *Josephus*, xx, 1.

TRIB. POT. V. IMP. XI. COS. DESIG. IV. *Gruter*, 176, 5, and *Muratori*, 2007, 2.

TRIB. POT. V. IMP. XI. COS. IV. *Gruter*, p. 35.

Against these last five inscriptions being correct we have the array of Dion Cassius, Cassiodorus, and the *Fasti Consulares*, which all place the fourth consulship of Claudius in A. D. 47, consequently he was not COS. DESIG. IV. till the beginning of August, 46, which was the sixth year of his Tribunitian power. We may place therefore the last five formulæ thus, leaving the preceding one to stand, though its correctness as to the junction of the TRIB. POT. IV. with IMPERATOR VII. may be regarded as extremely doubtful.

A. D. 44. TRIB. POT. IV. IMP. V. COS. III.

A. D. 45. No formula.

A. D. 46. TRIB. POT. VI. IMP. X. COS. DESIG. IV. *Gruter*.

———— TRIB. POT. VI. IMP. X. COS. DESIG. IV. *Josephus*.

———— TRIB. POT. VI. IMP. X. COS. DESIG. IV. *Gruter* and *Muratori*.

A. D. 47. TRIB. POT. VI. (January), IMP. XI. COS. IV. *Gruter*.

We may add two other formulæ for this year, to which we judge the last inscription belongs, as under.

———— TRIB. POT. VII. IMP. XIV., coins in *Eckhel*.

———— TRIB. POT. VII. IMP. XV. COS. IV. and CENSOR.  
*Gruter*, p. 113.

Having thus collected various data connected with the subject of which we treat and suggested explanations of some particular points, we may now show the titular distinctions of Claudius, so illustrative of ancient British history, in one table or series. The reader will see that there is no exact correspondency in this with every inscription which is cited, such a thing being probably unattainable from the incorrect copies which are frequently made of these ancient relics; nor is it impossible that some of them were originally cut erroneously: several inscriptions it will be seen do not correspond with one another.

Of the former species of error we are enabled to give a pretty evident instance, which presents itself from Piranesi's *Antichità Romane*, vol. i, tab. xxxvi, No. 2, among the transcripts of the inscriptions of the Aquæ Claudæ on the Porta

Nevia, or, as it is now called, the Porta Maggiore, at Rome. See them as cited in Brotier's *Tacitus*, vol. iv, p. 281. There are three inscriptions there given: the first is correct, being the form COS. V. T.P. XII. IMP. XXVII, P.P.; the second is COS. III. DESIG. IV. T.P. II. IMP. VI. P.P.; the third is COS. VIII, T.P. X. IMP. XVII. P.P. CENSOR. Here, in the second, T.P. II. should be VI., and IMP. VI. should be XI.; while in the third, the first I of the IIII has been mistaken for a v, and so we have COS. VIII instead of COS. IV. It will be seen that an injury to the stone may cause an i to resemble a v, while a defaced v may, on the other hand, appear no more than an unit. However to continue, we must now introduce the Table, which will form a species of summary of the subject.

Cos.	Trib. P.	Imp.	Year.	A.U.C.	For what.	Pages.
I.	I.	I.	41	794	The Emperor's Accession.	361
"	"	II.*	41	"	Pacification of Dalmatia.	361, 363
II.	II.	III.*	42	795	Mauritanian War.	361, 363
III.	III.	IV.*	43	796	Conquests in Britain.	329, 363
III.	IV.	V.*	44	797	Camulodunum.	319, 329
III.	V.	VI.	45	798	Belgæ and Dumnonii.	329, 330
"	"	VII.	45	"	Belgæ and Dumnonii.	329, 330
"	"	VIII.	45	"	Belgæ and Dumnonii.	329, 330
"	"	IX.	45	"	Belgæ and Dumnonii.	329, 330
"	"	X.*	45	"	Belgæ and Dumnonii.	329, 330
"	VI.	XI.*	46	799	Belgæ and Dumnonii.	329, 330
IV	VII.	XII.	47	800	Ovation of Aulus Plautius.	331, 366
"	"	XIII.	47	"	Chauci and German Tribes.	331, 367
"	"	XIV.	47	"	Chauci and German Tribes.	331, 367
"	"	XV.*	47	"	Chauci and German Tribes.	331, 367
IV	VIII.	"	48	801		
IV	IX.	XVI.	49	802	Mithridates Bosphoranus.	368, 379
"	"	XVII.*	49	"	First success of Ostorius.	369, 372
IV	X.	XVIII.	50	803	Iceni Coritani.	372
"	"	XIX.	50	"	Cangi and Ordovices.	372
"	"	XX.	50	"	Brigantes.	372
"	"	XXI.*	50	"	Silures.	373
V	XI.	XXII.	51	804	Caractacus.	370, 373
"	"	XXIII.	51	"	Silures.	373
"	"	XXIV.*	51	"	Brigantes.	373
V	XII.	XXV.	52	805	Brigantes.	373
"	"	XXVI.	52	"	Brigantes.	373
"	"	XXVII.*	52	"	Brigantes.	373
"	XIII.	"	53	806		
"	"	"	54	807		

NOTE.—The asterisks show in what instances the Imperatorships were counted in two or more following years; i. e. the one to which they are placed, and subsequently.

We may not dismiss the present topic without some few concluding words in remark. The Diagrams and the Table have shown some peculiar features of our subject, as also a source or two of intricacy, which at the first glance perhaps might not have been suspected. By the aid thus afforded, however, we see the whole range and bearing of the relative circumstances in each particular case, which enables the evidences of coins, inscriptions, and of historical testimonies to be better applied; and, indeed, in some instances, we may say solely enables them to be applied correctly.

The historical student, in endeavouring to ascertain the dates of the Emperorships, of course applies the most obvious formulæ. For instance, should there be a question relating to Emperorship xi, belonging properly to the year 46, the usual form would be COS. III. TRIB. POT. VI. IMP. XI. with, or without the addition of DESIG. IV.; but by referring to the Table at the preceding page, and to page 376, it is plain that it might have been COS. III. T. P. V. IMP. XI., implying no alteration of the year, or COS. IV. T. P. VI. IMP. XI., or otherwise in the contingency that the ensuing Emperorship xii was not obtained till after the beginning of August, there might be the further form COS. IV. T. P. VII. IMP. XI., and these two last combinations would denote not the year 46 but 47. There is thus a species of latitude even if we obtain these formulæ correctly from inscriptions or coins, which may cause uncertainty: but, now knowing the nature of these variations, it may assist in elucidating research; and the best corrective will usually be found to be a reference to historical accounts detailing the transactions of the times with which our inquiries are connected.

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NEW FACTS AND RECTIFICATIONS  
OF  
ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY.

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BOOK V.

CHRISTIANITY IN ANCIENT BRITAIN.

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THE CHICHESTER INSCRIPTION; AND, WHO WERE THE FIRST  
CHRISTIANS IN BRITAIN?

THE reply as to who were the first asserters of our holy faith in the island will be—not St. Augustine and the Anglo-Saxon Church of the seventh century; not the Cambrian Church and its Archbishopric of Caerleon in the fifth century; not the Christians of the time of St. Alban the Martyr in the third century; nor even Lucius and his Christian congregations in the second. It was none of all these; but there was a previously existing British Church undoubtedly, one that had gained a footing at a much earlier date. It will be our present business to throw some light on this point, notwithstanding we have neither Bede nor Eusebius to assist us. However, we will set in array such materials as we have, bearing on this topic, which most obviously present themselves; and though there may not be perfect certainty in any one of our authorities, yet the combined inference from the whole of them will be, that some Christian teachers arrived about the reign of Nero, and that, notwithstanding the irruption of the Saxons and other pagans, Christianity has since never ceased in some part of this island.

We must first be understood, that the Chichester Inscription, though it stands in the front of our heading, has, in a direct sense, nothing to do with the introduction or propagation of Christianity in the island. In fact, its purpose was to record the dedication of a heathen temple. It is useful, however, as an introduction and basis to our subject, as it brings forward those persons to our notice who are supposed to have received and fostered the first missionaries on their arrival here.

The statistics of this inscription are as follows: it is a block of the grey marble of the south-eastern parts of the island, called Bethersden or Sussex marble; and appears to have been intended to be six Roman feet long by two and three quarters broad, as it is somewhat under those dimensions in English measure. The letters of the first two lines are three inches long, of the others two and a quarter. It was found in April, 1723, in digging the foundation of a house at the corner of St. Martin's Lane, Chichester, on the north side, where it joins the High Street. It is preserved at Goodwood, the seat of the Duke of Richmond, and reads thus—

(N)EPTVNO . ET . MINERVAE.  
 TEMPLVM.  
 (PR)O . SALVTE . DOMVS . DIVINAE.  
 (EX) . AVCTORITATE . TIB . CLAVD.  
 (CO)GIDVBN . R . LEGAT . AVG . IN . BRIT.  
 (COLLE)GIVM . FABROR . ET . QVI . IN . EO.  
 (S. P. R.) S. D. S. D. DONANTE AREAM.  
 (A . PVD)ENTE . PVDENTINI . FIL.

This, giving the words in full, will read, (N)eptuno et Minervæ templum (pr)o salute domus divinæ (ex) auctoritate Tib. Claud. (Co)gidubni, regis, legati Augusti in Britannîâ (Colle)gium Fabrorum et qui in eo (sunt pro rebus) sacris de suo dedicaverunt, donante aream (Aulo Pud)ente Pudentini filio. In English it will be thus, preserving in some degree the inverted arrangement of the Latin in order to give, as much as possible, the translation of the words and expressions as they stand in the original: To Neptune and Minerva this temple for the prosperity of the divine house and family of the Emperor, by the authority of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, king and legate of the emperor in Britain, the College of Workmen and those in it appointed for the superintendence of sacred rites have dedicated at their own expense, Aulus Pudens, son of Pudentinus, bestowing the site.

A second inscription, discovered a few years afterwards near the same spot and connected, as it is supposed, with it, is recorded in Gough's *Camden*, vol. i, p. 193, and may be here given.

## N E R O N I .

C L A V D I O . D I V I .  
 C L A V D I I . A V G . F . G E R M A N I C I .  
 C A E S A R I S . N E P O T I . T I B .  
 A V G V S T I . P R O N E P O T I . D I V I .  
 A V G V S T I . A B N E P O T I . C A E S A R I . A V G .  
 P M . P P . T R A . P I . V . I M P R I . V . C O S . D . I V .  
 M . A . L . S . C . V . N .

Of this, it may be observed, the words are pretty much in full, except of the last line; and we may render it thus, in a translated form.

To Claudius Nero, son of the deified Claudius, grandson of Germanicus Cæsar, great grandson of Tiberius Augustus, grandson's grandson of the deified Augustus; Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, father of his country, invested the fifth (*i.e.* the sixth) time with the Tribunitian Power, Imperator the fifth time, designated Consul the fourth time; many others concurring this vow was performed to Nero by, etc.

(The name of the dedicator is wanting.)

The last line of seven initial letters we may attempt with some uncertainty to restore, thus—

M(VLTIS) A(LIIS) L(VBENTIBVS) S(OLVI)  
 C(VRAVIT) V(OTVM) N(ERONI).

This was probably followed by the name and title of Cogidubnus, admitting him to have been the dedicator of the inscription, and the name Nero might in the present instance have been expressed in initials at the end from having been so fully given just before.

These two dedications are said to be precisely similar in the kind of stone on which they are cut, and in the shape of the letters, so that they are evidently of kindred import, the one being the dedication of a temple for the welfare of the Roman emperor; the other in the performance of a vow for the same purpose, mentioning Nero by name: the same person, therefore, who is named in one of them, Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, was probably the principal agent in both: and the object was undoubtedly the same in either

case, that of testifying the fidelity of the dedicator to the emperor; but we have no means of knowing whether the same emperor was intended in both inscriptions.

In respect to date; in the first inscription we have none, but in the second, to Nero by name, we find it was inscribed to him when he was designated Consul the fourth time, which corresponds to the latter part of the year 59. This being the case, we may make the passing remark, that in the concluding part, where we have, in Gough's copy, TRIB. POT. V. it necessarily stood in the original TRIB. POT. VI. to correspond with the year 59. Regarding the Collegium Fabrorum, mentioned in the first inscription, it was a company or band of artificers, formed into a corporation or collegium, whose services may be readily imagined to have been extremely useful in a new state or colony in the construction of houses, implements, carriages, furniture, and the like. These particulars connected with the inscription we mention as matters of due course in explaining it.

There is a counterpart of the second inscription in Muratori's *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, vol. i, p. 282, which will much illustrate its nature. It is seven years later in date; and was for the safety of Nero in performance of a vow made by the dedicator while he was in the Balearic islands. We may accordingly give it, and it is as follows—IMP. NERONI CLAUDIO DIVI CLAUDII F. GERMANICI CÆSARIS. N. T. CÆSARIS AUG. PRON. DIVI AUG. ABN. CÆSARI AUG. GERMANICO. P. M. TR. P. XIII. IMP. XI. COS. IV. L. LICINIUS EX VOTO SUSCEPTO PRO SALUTE IMP. NERONIS QUOD BALEARIBUS VOVERAT, etc. *I.e.* in English. To the emperor Nero Claudius (here follows the genealogical descent as in the former inscription), to Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus, invested with the Tribunitian Power the thirteenth time, saluted Imperator the eleventh time, Consul the fourth time. Lucius Licinius, from the vow he had made in the Balearic islands, dedicates this for the safety of Nero, etc.

We have thus given the noted Chichester Inscription, a second found at that place considered to have been connected with it, and a third, from Muratori, in explanation of this second. We may add, that the finding the Chichester Inscription was quite the antiquarian triumph of the last century: and it may be regarded as by far the most important monument of this class for the illustration of ancient

British matters which has hitherto come to light in England. The recovery of it in a legible state may be reckoned extremely fortunate: as also that the true reading was speedily recorded. It is said to have been since so injured in joining the stone together that many of the letters are at present obliterated, which at the time it was found were in a good state of preservation.

Now comes the question, who was the dedicator? and this it appears admits of somewhat of an easy answer. We have a Cogidunus mentioned by Tacitus in his *Life of Agricola*, c. 14, who is spoken of as a Briton, to whom the Roman proprætor, or perhaps rather the emperor himself, confided the government of several states in Britain in the year 51 of the Christian era, and who continued faithful to the Roman interests for a long series of years. We have this fact; and there is thus far a coincidence, that in consequence it does not appear to be doubted by any one, but that the Cogidunus of Tacitus and the Cogidubnus of the inscription are the same person. Another point has, however, been raised, whether this Cogidunus or Cogidubnus was the celebrated British hero Caractacus. It has been urged that, as it is recorded that the Roman emperor pardoned Caractacus, and as he seems to have made a favourable impression at Rome, the emperor may have entrusted him with the government of several provinces in Britain. Cogidubnus, it may be alleged, whoever he was, must have been under deep obligations to the Roman potentate, as he took his name. He styles himself Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, the first two appellations being the prænomen and nomen of the emperor Claudius, Nero's predecessor. However, on the other hand, Tacitus, who mentions both Cogidunus and Caractacus, does not signify that they were the same person. Again, it seems that Ostorius Scapula, the Roman proprætor, died towards the termination of the year 51, and as Cogidubnus was appointed before his death he could certainly not have been made a vassal king later than that year. See Tacitus in corroboration of this point; and this, according to the same authority, was the year of the defeat of Caractacus, whereas, according to Welsh traditions, he, though pardoned, was detained at Rome seven years before he was restored to his countrymen. Thirdly, there is no affinity, etymological or otherwise, between the names Cogidubnus and Caractacus.

Thus we have no countenance or support from history, tradition, or etymology of the identity of the two persons who have been mentioned; nor, in fact, any substantial ground whatever on which to base the supposition.

As then this idea must be dismissed, nothing remains but to revert to the presumption, which indeed is pretty clear from Tacitus, that Cogidubnus was a prince of one of the conquered states of Britain, and as this is the only certain information we must follow it up to the best advantage. Three powerful British kingdoms had by this time fallen beneath the Roman power, the dominions of Cunobeline, those of the Belgæ, as also those of the Dumnonii; and each of these was divided into several minor states. We have seen that there is reason to suppose that Caractacus was not the person; and we have no other guide than etymology, which, from the great habit of the ancient Britons of using titular designations, may perhaps direct us in assigning the state to which this leader belonged, though it will not give us in reality his personal name. Taking then the orthography of the word Cogidubnus from the inscription, and assuming that the prior part of it had a titular import, the concluding part of it "dubnus" seems to imply that he had been among the number of the chiefs of the Dobuni, one of the subordinate states of the late Cunobeline dominions, whose territories comprised Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and some surrounding parts. A titular name, we know, under certain circumstances, may become a quasi-personal name, and he may have been allowed by the Romans to retain it; particularly as he had also taken the name of the emperor in addition to his own designation. He was now become a vassal prince of the Roman people, and they were of course well aware that he meant to claim nothing by so doing.

The precise words of Tacitus respecting Cogidubnus, which we have not given before, are these, "*Quædam civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ; is ad nostram usque memoriam fidelissimus mansit.*" That is, Certain states being given to King Cogidubnus, who remained most faithful to our times. Now our inscription having been found at Chichester, which was the ancient Regnum, the capital of the Regni, one of the states of the South Eastern Belgæ, or Firbolgi of Ptolemy, or otherwise Belgæ Proper, for there was a considerable Belgian population besides in other parts of Britain, this

circumstance seems to show that the Regni were one of his states; and that the others are to be sought among the Belgæ Proper. These were subdivided besides the Regni, into the Cantii, the Belgæ of Hampshire and Wiltshire, and the Belgæ-Durotriges or those of Dorsetshire and part of Devon. His dominion may have comprised all these, but of course there is no certainty on this point. Tacitus, we may observe, terms him king, and he is so styled on the inscription; but in addition he is also termed in it one of the legati of the emperor in Britain, the latter title being placed more conspicuously than the first. Now the title of Legatus implied the high office of civil or military commissioner of the emperor; intended, as it would appear in either case, to give the possessor of it more power to act promptly in his vassal kingdom, to put down a sedition, or repress an inroad. This might have been possibly not an uncommon process with many of the subordinate and tributary princes of the Roman empire, as thus, an additional pledge of their fidelity might be secured from the high military rank given them, and from their having taken the "Sacramentum," or military oath, which was accustomed to be administered in the Roman armies. Traces may be found of other British tributary kings under the Romans having had military rank. Thus, according to the *British Chronicle*, Asclepiodotus, a tributary prince in Cornwall, takes the field at the head of his forces against the usurper Allectus. This person is styled by Orosius in his History, "Præfectus prætorio" to the emperor, which was a high office; literally implying master of the palace; and in this case it seems connected with military rank.

We have thus explained various matters connected with this Cogidubnus; of whom, however, the chief thing that we know is, that he was the Cogidunus of Tacitus.

Whilst on the subject of the inscription it may not be unworthy to mention a somewhat singular coincidence in connection with it. The antiquary, Dr. Musgrave, in his work entitled *Belgium Britannicum*, 8vo, 1719, p. 97, which was written as an account, as far as could be ascertained, of the Southern Belgæ of Britain, whom we have before mentioned, had given it as his opinion that the jurisdiction of Cogidunus, spoken of by Tacitus, was in the parts where it was afterwards found actually to be situated. Only four years elapsed between the advancing of this opinion and the fulfilment of it in 1723,

by the coming to light of this ancient relic, at which time, however, Dr. Musgrave was deceased.\*

We have thus in the foregoing remarks adverted to our Chichester Inscription in most of its archæological points; but we have intimated that the persons mentioned in it were supposed to be connected with the first Christians of the island. (Aulus) Pudens and Cogidubnus are the two persons, and as the Inscription itself, as before noted, has nothing to do with Christianity, we will now leave it, and seek for information, real or supposed, connected with them elsewhere.

It will be better perhaps in the first instance to propound the theory, which has ever been entertained more or less since the finding of the Inscription up to the present time, relating to the Pudens of the Inscription and Claudia the supposed daughter of Cogidubnus. Indeed the theory was in part entertained before, as may be seen by reference to Usher and Stillingfleet; the Inscription merely made an addition to it, supplying the name of Cogidubnus, and showing that Pudens, that *a Pudens* at any rate, had been in Britain.

The theory then, which is not an isolated one, but which, it is believed, is entertained to great extent, is to this effect. It is supposed that Cogidubnus, the same person who is mentioned by Tacitus, and who is now considered ascertained to have been made king of a portion of the Southern Belgæ of Britain, had a daughter named Claudia, who was intrusted to the care of the family of Aulus Plautius at Rome, the late proprætor, for education; and who grew up possessed of beauty and accomplishments, and was the object of much admiration. Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the lady of the house, from the tenor of a passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus, xiii, 32, is considered to have been a Christian, and Claudia to have imbibed the faith from her.

\* Dr. Musgrave was an extremely learned antiquary, though frequently forming very incorrect conclusions, at other times his researches were often the means of affording much information. In the present instance it will be seen by the words of the passage in question, which follow, how closely his conjecture went side by side with the afterwards ascertained fact. "Cum Romani sub Claudio Britannias subegerant permagna in Belgio rerum mutatio mox secuta est. . . . Brevi deinde post tempore Regnorum princeps Cogidunus se suosque Romanis deditit." *I. e.* After the Romans, under Claudius, had subdued Britain a great change ensued in British Belgium. . . . A short time afterwards Cogidunus, chief of the Regni, surrendered himself and his state to the Romans.



As a sequel to the above, she is believed to have married Aulus Pudens, a young Roman of the equestrian order, who also became a Christian; and it is thought that they are the persons mentioned by St. Paul, as we shall presently see; and we may add, that Aristobulus or Eubulus and a person named Linus seem to have completed the British party at that time assembled at Rome.

A wide scope is here taken, though strictly speaking but little of this theory is now brought forward for the first time, we must, however, carefully sift and examine the whole of it at each stage, which will be best done by bringing it under review in its various heads.

MENTION BY ST. PAUL OF THE SUPPOSED BRITISH PARTY AT ROME. This celebrated Apostle, writing from Corinth, names thus, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, xvi, 10, a person evidently of some note as connected with the Christians at Rome. "Salute them which are of Aristobulus' household." Again, in his Second Epistle to *Timothy* iv, 21, written some years afterwards during his imprisonment at Rome, he has this passage, "Eubulus greeteth thee and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren." Here may possibly be a re-mention of the Aristobulus first named, under the synonymous appellation of Eubulus. To both these passages we will again refer while examining various details, and will now pass on to the various persons forming the supposed community at Rome, connected in one way or the other with Christianity and Britain.

POMPONIA GRÆCINA. Respecting this distinguished lady, Tacitus informs us, in the passage we have before cited (*Annals*, xiii, 32), that being accused of having embraced a foreign superstition, the emperor ordered an inquiry to be made by her husband and family connections, and that in the result she was pronounced innocent. The foreign superstition could scarcely have been any other than Christianity, as is generally thought; and her being pronounced innocent is attributed to her partially conforming again to heathen rites; which seems rendered more probable from the subsequent account which Tacitus gives of her. He represents her as living the rest of a long life in a species of melancholy, and estranged from the customary habits of the times. The date of this family inquiry was the year 57 of the Christian era; and though St. Paul did not arrive at Rome till the year 62,

five years afterwards, yet we may briefly show that abundant means of conversion to Christianity existed in that city long previously, as will appear from the following considerations.

(1) Even as early as the year 33 we find that there were strangers from Rome at Jerusalem among those who witnessed the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost ; who returning would doubtlessly become the harbingers of what they had seen and heard. (2) Again, we have a circumstance very corroborative in its nature in the dwelling of Andronicus and Junia at Rome, in the year 58, at the time St. Paul wrote his Epistle. These are described (*Romans*, xvi, 7) as "of note among the Apostles," which implies that, though not among the number of the Twelve, they were missionaries to Rome, deputed by the Apostles ; that is, in all probability deputed either by St. Peter, bishop of Antioch ; St. James, bishop of Jerusalem ; or St. John, bishop of Ephesus. At any rate it is obviously undeniable from the sixteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, written in the year above mentioned, that the Christians were numerous in the imperial city at the time he wrote. As we know not the date of the mission of Andronicus and Junia to Rome, it might possibly have been very early, as St. Paul declares, *Romans*, xvi, 7, they had been converts to the faith of Christ before the time of his own conversion, which is considered to have taken place in the year 35. It will be seen then that means existed at Rome for a conversion to the faith of Christ long before the date of the inquiry as to the religious tenets of the person of whom we now speak.

We have thus remarked on some circumstances connected with the above noted inquiry, which has been the means of handing down the name of Pomponia Græcina to posterity. Having mentioned her, we will take occasion to add a remark on the influence of the powerful family at Rome, the Gens Pomponia, to which, as appears by her name, she belonged.

It was the patronage of this family we may judge which was the means directly or indirectly of bringing forward the noted Agricola, whose name is so much mixed up with Roman-British transactions in the island. This possibly may sufficiently appear by the mention of a collateral circumstance.

There are evident indications of relationship between the family of Agricola and the Gens Pomponia. It is true Agricola was of the Gens Julia, as his father was named Cneius Julius

Græcinus; but the agnomen or surname Græcinus was common to the two families, namely to that of Agricola, and that of the branch of the Gens Pomponia to which Pomponia Græcina belonged. An alliance by marriage thus seems indicated, and, consequently, a community of interests in these two quarters; and if such were the case, the influence of the two powerful families combined, the Gens Pomponia and the Gens Julia, may have been highly instrumental in the rapid military advancement which seems to have attended Agricola in his career, till he obtained the proprætorship in Britain. Tacitus, the eminent historian, it must be remembered, was son-in-law of Agricola. Thus a family connection of Tacitus and Agricola with Aulus Plautius the invader, in the time of Claudius, through Pomponia Græcina, may be supposed; and, in consequence, the eminent Roman historian may have felt a double interest in all that regarded Britain, of which we have the fruit in his elegant works which remain. To this cause we may add we probably owe his recording the anecdote relating to Pomponia Græcina; which, though become highly important to us at the present day, must have been somewhat of a mere private affair in the eyes of the Romans at the time.

CLAUDIA RUFINA. Admitting this person to have been the daughter of the British king Cogidubnus, she might not only have been sent to Rome for education, but also partly as an hostage for her father's fidelity, who thus might have an additional motive for adhering to the interests of his new masters. The Romans were accustomed to make a great use of this species of tie among the nations they conquered. On her growing up she became celebrated, as before observed, for her beauty and accomplishments, and became of more note from the eminent family in which she was domiciled. In particular Martial, a Roman poet of the day, mentions her; and we may give the two passages in which her name occurs in their chronological order with as close a version in English as possible. They are as follows:

"Claudia Rufe meo nubit peregrina Pudenti.

Macte esto tedis, o Hymenæe tuis." etc. etc.—*Book iv*, 13.

The whole of the Epigram may be unnecessary as in the original, it will be thus in English.

"O Rufus, the foreigner Claudia marries my Pudens. Hymen be propitious with thy torches. Thus nard and

cinnamon may be blended, and Attic honey may be mingled with wine of Mount Massicus;\* and elms and vines are not better matched, or the lotus more suited to the streams, or myrtles to the sea shore (than they are one to another). May concord and love attend ever on the pair. May she love him when he is old; but may she never seem old to him."

The second,

"Claudia cœruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis  
Edita, quàm Latîæ pectora gentis habet!  
Quale decus formæ! Romanam credere matres  
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.  
Di bene quod sancto peperit fecunda marito  
Quod sperat generos, quodque puella nurus.  
Sic placeat superis, ut conjuge gaudeat uno  
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus."—*Book xi, 54.*

This in English.

"Claudia Rufina, though of the race of the Britons dyed with woad (*i. e.* with blue), yet how she has a Roman disposition! The Italian matrons might think her Roman born, whilst those of Athens might suppose her their country-woman. Grant, O ye Gods! because she has been fruitful to her legitimate (or saintly) husband, that he may have, what he hopes for, sons-in-law, and the young mother, daughters-in-law. So may it please the gods that she may be ever happy with this same husband, and happy also in her three sons."

In the first of these epigrams, it will be observed, the poet styles Claudia a foreigner (*peregrina*), the wife of Pudens. In the second, she appears on the scene as Claudia Rufina, the native of Britain (*Britannis edita*); but her husband is not named; the first epigram, however, supplies us with that particular: and the addition of Rufina to Claudia's name in the second is no inconsistency or contradiction whatever, as it could not be supposed but that, according to the Roman custom, Claudia must have had a second and even a third name, nor could anything be more natural than the principle on which her said names, as known to us, appear to have been assigned. Her British appellation, whatever it may have

\* As to the mixing of wines by the ancients, we have the following passage in another Roman poet.

"Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno  
Mendose; quoniam vacuis committere venis  
Nil nisi lene decet."—*Horace, Sat. ii, 4.*

been, is not communicated to us, but her name Claudia, it will be observed, is the feminine form of that of her father as on the Chichester Inscription, and which he had obviously assumed in compliment to the emperor Claudius, under whom he governed in Britain: while again her other name Rufina would have been very naturally adopted from one of the family appellations of her patroness Pomponia Græcina. We have here the authority of Pitiscus, an eminent editor of several classical authors in the last century, who informs us that the Gens Pomponia about this time bore the cognomen of Rufus. According to this, Pomponia's own name would have been Pomponia Rufa Græcina. We may give here the usual form and arrangement of Roman personal appellations, which may much illustrate the subject.

FIRST NAME.	NAME.	SURNAME.	ADDITION.
(The individual).	(The gens).	(The family).	(The epithet).
<i>Prænomen.</i>	<i>Nomen.</i>	<i>Cognomen.</i>	<i>Agnomen.</i>
Tiberius.	Claudius.	—	Cogidubnus.
—	Pomponia.	(Rufa).	Græcina.
—	Claudia.	Rufina.	—

This is as clear as perhaps the case can readily be made out: and admitting that this young person was to adopt one of the names of her patroness, it appears to make it evident which it should be.

AULUS PUDENS was a young man of the equestrian order, employed in some way it would appear under the Roman government in the time of Nero, and in his after life a senator according to some. These particulars respecting him we may endeavour to elucidate.

Of this person we have several mentions in Martial, though only once together with Claudia. The general import of these passages is as follows:

As he seems to have been on intimate terms with Martial, a very immoral poet, and is mentioned by him several times, taking this for an indication, it would not argue that Pudens' own character was in the first instance of a very elevated description; which is only too certainly shown by more than one passage in the work of the Roman poet. Almost we may regret that this is brought so plainly to our view by Martial, though, indeed, we cannot but know that many of

the heathen before their conversion lived sunken in vice ; as further the Scriptures acquaint us.

In prosecuting our present research, it will be better to refer to the epigrams in the order in which they are given by the poet, which is certainly not always according their priority in point of time ; but there are no materials for ascertaining the precise dates, though they probably might all be comprised within seven or eight years, beginning from about the year 60.

Epigram iv, 13, of which we have before given an extract, speaks of his marriage with Claudia, which had just then taken place. Epigram v, 29, shows him immersed in the vices of Rome. Epigram vi, 58, represents him as absent in the country of Getæ in Pontus, a nation on the right bank of the Danube near its exit into the Black Sea. Epigram vii, 11, records his disapprobation of Martial's poetry, at which time he was evidently at Rome. This Epigram is expressed thus :

" Cogis me calamo manumque nostrâ  
Emendare meos Pudens libellos.  
O quàm me nimium probas amasque  
Qui vis archetypas habere nugas."

That is, " You oblige me, with hand and pen, O Pudens, to correct my tablets. O, how you too much approve and love me, who wouldst have my trifles patterns of perfection." We judge that he was at this time along with Claudia his wife, a convert of St. Paul's, and with Christianity a due change of life seems to have supervened. We may deem this epigram to date about the year 65, and probably St. Paul was at Rome at the time.

Shortly after this we conceive that he is mentioned in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, in the year 66, to which passage we shall again refer. But to continue with Martial ; he is mentioned in epigram xi, 54, which we have before given, as living with his consort in a state of domestic felicity. This epigram could not have been written much later than the year 68, Claudia being described therein as still a " puella " or girl. (See before, p. 396.)

The correction by Pudens of Martial's licentious productions has already been noticed. It is remarkable, and possibly in connection with this, that he is styled in the last epigram xi, 54, addressed to Claudia, " sanctus maritus," which is a very equivocal expression, and under the circum-

stances of the case very extraordinary. Sanctus maritus means no more properly than legitimate husband, intimating that the lady whom he addressed was united to her husband in the most honourable form of marriage in use among the Romans; that she was not the concubine, or the simple uxor only, but had become the mater familias, or the uxor cum conventione as it was termed, which was the highest kind of marriage; properly only permitted to women who were Roman citizens, and not to foreigners, or even Latian women, unless by special favour. Terence has the expression "Occidunt me dum nimis sanctas nuptias student facere;" that is, they weary me while they are endeavouring to make too ceremonious nuptials; which seems to define the meaning beyond doubt, as the higher species of marriages would of course be attended with more forms and ceremonies than those of an inferior class. However, we may judge that Pudens having become a Christian, the poet may possibly have intended an application in either sense of the words: one that would have been somewhat gratifying to both parties: a compliment may have been meant to Claudia on her marriage having been of the highest rank, more flattering to her perhaps as a native of a country considered barbarous by the Romans; and at the same time the expression may have had reference to the holy course of life which Pudens may now be supposed to have adopted.

In respect to the rank of life of Pudens, on which topic we have before touched, he was a Roman knight, as appears in a passage or two in Martial; and there may be reason to suppose that his department in life was that of a procurator or collector of tribute, an employment considered extremely honourable among the Romans, and held by those of the equestrian order. This was the class of men styled publicans in Scripture, unpopular in Judæa, as is well known, but of whom we find from our Saviour's words, *St. Matthew* xxi, 31, many were inclined to embrace Christianity. Xiphilinus tells us, in his *Life of Nero*, that the (head) procurator in Britain, Decianus Catus, by his misconduct partly occasioned Boadicea's insurrection. This was A. D. 61. Changes might have ensued in consequence in the Roman fiscal collections in Britain, and possibly Pudens might have gone there either as procurator-in-chief in the province of Britannia Prima, *i.e.* Britain south of the Thames or Severn, or otherwise high in office. That he was

a procurator or collector of the revenue, his going to Pontus may be taken as some corroboration, as he does not appear to have been in the army; and as we may judge that no Roman would have gone to so remote a quarter except in some capacity or other in the service of the State.

We may now, as we before said we should, again bring forward to notice the passages in Holy Writ in which the British party at Rome is mentioned, somewhat discussing them, in order to show matters of this date connected with Pudens, and some other particulars.

The first is from the Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, which he wrote during his second imprisonment at Rome, and runs in the following words, chap. iv, v. 21, "Eubulus greeteth thee and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren." The second passage is in the Epistle to the *Romans*, xvi, 10, in which one of the persons in the foregoing list is very probably referred to under a synonymous name, and therefore the passage requires to be brought forward. It is thus, "Salute them which are of Aristobulus' household." These passages both require some observations as to the date when they were written, especially that in the Second Epistle to Timothy, which fixes the time when Claudia and Pudens were Christians.

In respect to this Second Epistle, our Bible margins give A. D. 66; Bishop Tomline, in his *Elements of Christian Theology*, vol. i, p. 440, 8vo, 1815, proposes A. D. 65; Michaelis, in his *Introduction*, vol. iv, p. 176, A. D. 65 or 66, but is inclined to think the latter, and his reasons appear so good in this last respect that we may accordingly consider our Bible date for this portion of Scripture is thereby definitely confirmed.

Regarding the Epistle to the Romans, Archbishop Usher and the Bible margins give the date of A. D. 60. Michaelis, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. iv, p. 89, 8vo, 1802, *Marsh's Translation*, considers it most correctly assigned to the year 58, towards the end of the year, and this now seems pretty generally acquiesced in by modern writers.

The foregoing observations of course show that Claudia and Pudens were Christians in the year 66: and that one of the party with whom they were connected in Rome was so as early as the year 58. That is, if Eubulus and Aristobulus be the same person, as we will now proceed to show.



ARISTOBULUS. We may now offer some brief remarks as to whether this person were the same as Eubulus.

It is then commonly believed that many persons mentioned in the New Testament were distinguished by two names. We find traces of this even in the lists of the names of the Apostles given by the Evangelists: compare *Matthew* x, 4, and *Luke* vi, 15. St. Matthew is believed to be also called Levi in St. Luke's Gospel: the Silas of the Acts of the Apostles is supposed by some to be the Tertius of the Epistles: St. Paul was at first called Saul: and as the name Eubulus is almost exactly the same in signification as Aristobulus, meaning a person judicious as a counsellor, the two names may have only designated the same person. Further we can merely say on this head that Aristobulus, who we may presume from his name was a Jewish convert to Christianity, might be thought more likely to have adopted a variation of his name than a Roman born, or than if he had always remained a Jew. So the case rests. If the presumption of the identity of the two can be at all supported it is important to our inquiry, as an Aristobulus is otherwise represented as taking interest in British affairs, as we may presently touch upon. It would also show that nearly all the persons mentioned by name in the said 21st verse of the fourth chapter of the Second Epistle to Timothy, before referred to, were connected with Britain. One other of them we shall here mention, who possibly may have been a Briton, which, however, we do not undertake to affirm.

LINUS. The verse runs "Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia." According to Cambrian writers, Cyllin was the son of Caractacus, carried to Rome with his father, and a convert to Christianity. Cyllin might be an abbreviation of Cyhelin, and Linus again an abridgment of Cyllin. It is a fact undoubted, that a person named Linus was bishop of Rome about this time, and we can only say, on a subject so unknown as his origin, that if it be true that Cyllin was a son of Caractacus, the inference may be, that the same person was also called Linus, and was the bishop of Rome, the name being analogous.

We have now gone through the whole British party at the Imperial city, and may turn to some matters of date relevant to our subject.

It has been objected by some, that difficulties of chronology

present themselves in the endeavour to reconcile the mention of the Pudens and Claudia of Martial with that of the two same persons in the Holy Scriptures, but on examination this idea seems wholly founded on mistake. For the poems of Martial are not chronologically arranged, as is a circumstance apparently sufficiently known. It may be necessary to mention the objection, but we may be spared the task of going critically into the subject, there appearing so little real foundation for it. It is known that Martial, who was born in Spain, lived more than thirty-five years at Rome, which appear to have occupied the period extending from the year 60 to 95, within the earlier part of which limits the marriage of the two persons of whom we treat may be believed to have taken place in the Roman capital. All this, it is manifest, is perfectly reconcileable with the dates afforded by the Scriptures; the Second Epistle to Timothy, in which Pudens and Claudia are mentioned, having been written in the year 65 or 66.

We have now touched on most of the points relating to Claudia and Pudens which it is practicable to illustrate. There are other circumstances which we cannot so well ascertain, and must accordingly leave, such as the date of the Chichester Inscription; and whether it were previous or subsequent to the marriage: we accordingly turn our attention to another topic.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO BRITAIN. The one to which we allude is, What Apostles or Apostolic men were the first introducers of our Holy Faith into the Island? As to Apostles we are inclined at once to assume a negative rather than an affirmative, the evidence being so vague on this point. It is true the names of three Apostles are mentioned as having penetrated to these parts; but we may briefly see what the evidence in support amounts to. The three are St. Paul, St. Peter, and Simon Zelotes. The following is the mode and form in which the relative details are come down to us.

First, as to St. Paul: it does not appear that the idea has any further foundation than the known extensive travels of this Apostle, and the passage in St. Clement of Rome, in his *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, c. 5, that he was κήρυξ ἐν τῇ τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει; i. e. that he was a herald both in the east and in the west: and further, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς

δύσσεως ἐλθὼν; *i. e.* that he came to the boundary of the west. Here in these words of this father of the church, who is said to have been the disciple of St. Luke, and to have died at the end of the first century, Britain by no means is necessarily implied in the mention of the west, as the words are equally suitable to Spain or Gaul, and the former country is apparently the most probable of the three, (see *the Epistle to the Romans*, xv, 24, 28). Further we may observe that Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian of the fourth century, gives no support to the idea; for he merely says, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, iii, 7, that some of the disciples of Christ, μαθηταί, came to Britain. St. Jerome, writing about the year 400, says that St. Paul, after his imprisonment at Rome, preached the Gospel in the western parts, (*De Script. Eccles.* v, 2). The earliest writer who actually implies that St. Paul passed over to Britain is Theodoret, who, writing about the year 450, says, in his *Comment on the 116th Psalm*, that “St. Paul went to Italy and from that country to Spain, and conveyed his aid to the islands lying in the sea.” There is, of course, an uncertainty in this last testimony after the silence of prior writers, and it is possible that Theodoret himself may merely have given a paraphrase of the words of Clement, which we have cited as above.

As to the two others of the Apostles penetrating to Britain, a passage in the Greek *Menologies*, or Commemorations of Saints, which are of uncertain date, asserts that St. Peter preached in Britain, made a long stay here and returned to Rome in the twelfth year of Nero, which was A.D. 65. While Dorotheus, in his *Synopsis Apostolorum*, a work so called, tit. 12, asserts that Simon Zelotes was martyred in the island. Both these assertions are otherwise unsupported.

In the practical result deducible from the above. As then the accounts of Clement of Rome and of Eusebius are somewhat uncertain, and that of Theodoret may possibly have arisen from misunderstanding what was said by Clement, so Aristobulus, the same person before mentioned, seems to have the best claim of having been the first Evangelist in these parts. It is true that we are about to cite authorities that like the former are not indubitable: but here the accounts will be found more circumstantial: and the reader will observe the comprehensive term used by Eusebius in one of the passages already quoted in speaking of the introducers of

Christianity into Britain. He describes them as, *μαθηται*, literally disciples; yet the term is generic, and means therefore either Apostles or Disciples. It might then have been either of those two denominations who first reached the island to convey the Gospel.

The fullest account of this Aristobulus is in the said Greek *Menologies*, the text of which slightly varies in different editions, as may be seen by comparison of Archbishop Usher's extract in his *Primordia*, folio, 1687, p. 5, with that in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, folio, 1847, p. cii. From the latter work we extract thus.

"Aristobulus, the divine Apostle of Christ, was one of the seventy disciples . . . . . and when he (Paul) ordained bishops in every country, he ordained him Aristobulus, bishop in the country of the Britons, who were unbelievers and rude and ferocious men (*ἀγρίων καὶ ἁμῶν ἀνθρώπων*). And he departing thither and preaching Christ, and sometimes being beaten and at other times being dragged through the streets, and again, at other times, derided, persuaded many to turn to Christ, and be baptised; and founded churches, and appointed priests and deacons, and there died."

Another somewhat similar account is recorded in the ancient ecclesiastical work called the *Synopsis* of Dorotheus, of which we have before spoken; and another in a *Fragment* by Heleca, bishop of Saragossa. These both have the missions of Aristobulus to Britain by St. Paul, though otherwise much less circumstantial in the particulars they give. According to other legends, Aristobulus died in the year 99, and was buried at Glastonbury, and his day was kept the 13th of March. His mission, according to the above accounts, continued through the reigns of Nero, Vitellius, Otho, Vespasian, etc. to that of Trajan.

Welsh traditions likewise mention Aristobulus under the name of Arwystli Hên as a missionary to Britain, and as accompanying thither the family of Caractacus on their return from captivity, attended by Ilid, and Cyndav, and Mawan his son, who are represented as Jews: however it may be doubted what faith should be given to these additional details.

It is somewhat remarkable that when the name of this Aristobulus is mentioned in the 16th chapter of Romans, in the passage we already cited, the words run, "Salute those of Aristobulus' household." Therefore he was not at Rome

himself at that time, though his family were, which leads to a belief that his labours had begun as early as the year 58, and that he was then absent on a mission.

GILDAS ON THE FIRST CHRISTIANS IN BRITAIN. Having thus paid due attention to the account of the introduction of Christianity by Aristobulus, who is said to have been delegated by St. Paul, let us now turn to the account in the work of Gildas, our first historian. The said account is certainly extremely obscure and doubtful in its import; but some of its difficulties seem capable of being cleared up; in particular that part should be duly explained in which Gildas is usually misunderstood to say that Christianity was introduced here in the reign of Tiberius; the historian says no such thing. We may therefore bring his narrative forward with a translation, and with one or two remarks.

In the previous chapter 4, Gildas had been describing the original heathenish state of the island; the number of idols worshipped, and even the invocations made to rivers, springs, and mountains. In chapters 5, 6, and 7, he gives a description, or rather a sketch merely of Roman events in Britain, from the invasion of Claudius A. D. 43 to the suppression of the rebellion originated by Carausius in the year 297, which tacitly he makes an epoch, and comments on the religious state of the island before he resumes his narrative in the ensuing five chapters. The first of these, chap. viii, runs thus :

*"Interea glaciali frigore rigenti insulæ et velut longiore terrarum secessu soli visibili non proximæ, verus ille Sol non de firmamento solum temporali, sed de summâ etiam cœlorum arce cuncta tempora excedente, orbi universo præfulgidum sui coruscum ostentans; tempore ut scimus summo Tiberii Cæsaris quo absque ullo impedimento ejus propagabatur religio, comminatâ senatu nolente, a principe morte delatoribus militum ejusdem, radios suos primùm indulget, id est, sua præcepta Christus."* This to give the sense of it as literally as possible in English, and not altering the Latin idiom and arrangement more than strictly necessary, is as follows :

"In the mean time to the island stiffened with an icy coldness, and as if far removed from the visible sun in the long recess of distant lands, that other true Sun not confined to a created firmament, but showing forth its dazzling brilliancy to the whole world, from the most high citadel of the heavens, which was from all eternity, in the full and com-

pleted time as we know of Tiberius Cæsar, in which too, without any impediment, his religion was propagated, death being threatened by that emperor, though contrary to the will of the Senate, to the informers against his warriors, Christ first favourably bestows his rays, that is, his doctrines.

Here “*summo tempore*” which has been rendered full and completed time, seems to refer to Daniel, ix, 26, where the prophet says, “And after three score and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off,” etc., the appointed preaching of the kingdom of Christ being thereto subsequent. Therefore there does not seem here a reference to the time of the introduction of Christianity into Britain; for the “*radios suos primum indulget*,” the first favourably bestowing the rays of Christ’s doctrines, seems to apply and belong to the “*interea*,” the mean time, at the beginning of the sentence, namely, the period commencing from early times of idolatry, and extending to the year 297, to which era Gildas had brought down this part of his historical sketch. There is then no evidence from this source, as some have erroneously misconceived, that Christianity was introduced into this island as early as the reign of Tiberius, as no such thing seems to have been intended.—Thus far of this author.

OFFSPRING OF CLAUDIA AND PUDENS.—It may be observed, as a species of summary of our subject, that there are two points of it which we suppose may very possibly be connected, namely, that the Claudia and Pudens of Martial, may be the persons of those names mentioned in the Holy Scriptures : and again, that the same Pudens may be the Pudens of the Chichester Inscription. The whole inquiry, we presume, has a bearing on the topic of the introduction of Christianity into the country, on which we have accordingly touched. The British Claudia and her husband Pudens we suppose to have been Christians; but whatever abode they may have made here, if they ever came here at all after their marriage, there appears no ground for believing they had any mission to the country, or made converts to any extent; on the contrary, there rather seems reason to think that the missionary of the time was the before mentioned Aristobulus, who is asserted to have been deputed by St. Paul for that purpose, and whose name occurs, as above noted, in the Epistle to the Romans.

These are the conclusions we form, or rather the probabilities assumed, as the matter does not lend itself to unmistakable

proof; particularly as to the identity of the Pudens of the Inscription.

A still further branch of the subject unfolds itself, varying accounts in the Roman martyrologies and other ecclesiastical works, mention the offspring of the Roman Pudens, but in such a way, as adds much embarrassment to our inquiries, though affording an incidental indication of his British connection. The topic is discussed rather fully, by Archbishop Usher, in his *Primordia*, fol. 1687, pp. 17, 20, though without his being able to reconcile the difficulties which present themselves. To give a specimen of the ambiguities of the case, certain martyrologies which he quotes, speak of two sons Novatus and Timotheus, of the Senator Pudens, styled the disciple of St. Paul; and a tradition from the work of Johannes Naclerus, a writer so named, and from the *Catalogue of Saints* of Peter Equilinus, states that Lucius, the first Christian king in this island, was converted and baptized by Timotheus; the latter account calling him the disciple of St. Paul (*Primordia*, p. 17). Whether this circumstance so alleged be true or not, it is certain that a person of the same name and described as a disciple of the apostles, is mentioned as known or remembered by Pius the First, bishop of Rome, in his *Epistles*, whose pontificate commenced in the year 144 (*Primordia*, p. 18), though nothing is said of his mission to Britain or of his parentage. Chronology indeed, is not reconcileable to his reported converting of the British King Lucius; the majority of authorities among whom are Bede and Nennius, placing that event at too late a period to correspond with the era assignable to a son of Pudens; the former writer giving the date 167, and the latter 164.\* Further, numerous authorities connect the event with the popedom of Eleutherius, though probably erroneously, as that extended still later, from the year 179 to 194. We must not omit, however, that there is a somewhat qualifying circumstance on the other side, which, could reliance be placed upon it, would tend greatly to remove

\* The date here given from Bede is in his *Epitome* at the end of his *History*. In his *History* he has 156; though he expresses, in both cases, that he speaks of the time when Eleutherius became pope, in whose pontificate the conversion of Lucius took place. The editions of *Nennius* vary in regard to date as follows. Mr. Stevenson's edition, 8vo, 1838, has 167, but six manuscripts quoted in his notes express the year 164, one manuscript has 144; the date, however, 164, has the greatest authority, and stands in the adopted text in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. The Irish *Nennius* has 147.

the want of correspondency of date; and this is, that some accounts speak of the conversion of Lucius as occurring at a far earlier date than those we have above given. For instance, one account assigns the event to the year 100 (*Primordia*, p. 19), other accounts, to the year 138 (*Ibid.* p. 20).

Several writers, as Baronius in his *Annals*, Peter Equilinus, in his *Catalogue of Saints*, and others, speak of Pudentiana and Potentiana, sacred virgins, otherwise Pudentiana and Praxedes, or Potentiana and Praxedes, as offspring likewise of Pudens, and sisters of Timotheus and Novatus; but Archbishop Usher shows that they mistook the authorities by which they considered that the information was conveyed. (See his *Primordia*, p. 18.) We may here add, that Peter Equilinus mentions that Sabinella was the mother of Pudentiana and Praxedes, and was the wife of Pudens, and that Priscilla was his mother, whom Baronius, in his *Annals*, erroneously calls his wife: but as we are informed that the two virgins died in the year 165 (*Primordia*, p. 19), it is evident that there is here no reference to our Pudens, but that they must have been the daughters of some other person.

LUCIUS THE FIRST CHRISTIAN KING OF BRITAIN. A recent writer has doubted the existence of King Lucius (see the Notes to the Irish *Nennius*, p. xiii), and has supposed that a scribe in the middle ages found it handed down in some ancient legend that the Britons were converted "Antonino et Lucio regnante," that is, Antoninus and Lucius reigning, and not knowing that Lucius Verus was the person intended. Antoninus' partner in the empire supposed that the name Lucius meant a king in Britain, and so transmitted the presumed fact. On this we may remark, that a mistake of this nature could hardly have been introduced into a work written so early in the middle ages as Bede's *History*, in which the name now first appears. Nor could the knowledge of the fact, the alleged conversion of a whole nation, been preserved solely in a single line in an old chronicle in the eighth century, which is the date of Bede's work,\* in the very nation itself. A connection indeed there probably was between the name of

\* Though Geoffrey of Monmouth is not quotable as an authority for a matter of fact, yet it may be observed, that he appears positively to assert, in his *History*, i, 20, that he obtained his information respecting Lucius and the ecclesiastical matters of that time, from a work of Gildas, now lost, his *Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii*, i. e., his Victory of Aurelius Ambrosius, which carries back the mention of Lucius two centuries earlier.



the British king and that of the Roman emperor Lucius Verus, but not in this way. The probability is, that the British prince coming to his throne, assumed the prænomen of the emperor, in compliment to him, in the like manner as our Cogidubnus did with regard to the two prior names of the Roman potentate of his time. Indeed as Lucius was no British name, it seems not inconsistent to suppose it had some reference to the Roman ruler of the day. The objection then, when examined, rather corroborates than otherwise.

Respecting the date of the conversion of Lucius; we have expressed the opinion at page 407, that it took place in the year 164, which is assigned by Nennius, the earliest and best authority on the subject, and this is the conclusion which will probably be adopted by most who will take the pains of examining the various circumstances of the case. We may here add connected with this event, that the mission of Timotheus to Britain apparently took place much earlier; and we may view him rather as a successor of Aristobulus and as a continuator of his work. In this point of view correct ideas of the chronology of these times seem most likely to be obtained.

To revert to its being said that the conversion of Lucius took place in the pontificate of Eleutherius which extended from 179 to 194, or, according to other authorities, from 169 to 185, the best opinion seems to be either that there was some notable communication in those days from Britain to the Roman Bishop, which occasioned the mission of various ecclesiastics to this island, or that Lucius died during that pontificate, and that the date of his conversion may have been confused with the date of his death.\*

Further we may subjoin, with regard to the reality of the account of king Lucius, that he is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, and that his existence is not objected to as fabulous

\* Tysilio, in his *Chronicle*, gives the date of the death of King Lucius as the year 136; Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his *History*, though compiling from the former, does not follow him here, but has 156. Matthew of Westminster, edition, 1570, p. 106, records Lucius to have begun his reign in the year 124; but refers his conversion to between the years 169 and 185, p. 112. John Rouse, from whatsoever source he derived his information, says he reigned sixty-seven years (see his *History of British Kings*, p. 48); but follows Geoffrey of Monmouth for the date of his death. Amidst these contradictions it is very feasible that he may have survived to the pontificate of Eleutherius, though it is only countenanced by one of the above chroniclers.

by the opposite party, in the controversy which took place respecting the celebration of Easter, between the British and Anglo-Saxon Churches, in the beginning of the seventh century.

There is no certainty in what part of Britain Lucius reigned, which apparently arises from the chroniclers and other writers wishing to magnify him as the monarch of the whole country under the Romans, which is very improbable. Nor do we know historically whether Lucius were a descendant of Cogidubnus. Neither in *Nennius*, or in the *British Chronicles*, is there the least mention of Cogidubnus; but, by a preceding page, it will be seen, that we are after all ignorant of the proper appellation of this person. We have only his title and his Roman adopted name.

Involved, however, as the whole affair is in uncertainty, there is a surmise which it may be as well to mention. There is one person whom Cogidubnus may have been, that is, the Meurig of Tysilio (see page 227), or the Marius of the other chronicles, Meurig or Marius is represented as the son of Gweyrydd or Caractacus; and nothing prevents that he may have been made prince of the Dobuni by his father, which the name Cogidubnus is supposed to imply. The two were contemporaries there is no doubt; and it can scarcely be thought that the Chronicles, desultory as they are, would have omitted all mention of so eminent a person as Cogidubnus; a legate of the emperor and king of part of the island nearest Gaul, and consequently most in notice. This may have some weight. Besides, there would be some antecedent probability that a prince of the Dobuni should be of the family of Cunobeline. All, indeed, that is ascribed to Meurig in the Chronicles, might apply to Cogidubnus.

Were this so, we should have the descent as follows: Meurig or Cogidubnus, Coillus, and Lucius; and Cogidubnus would thus be brought into the royal line; so far making plainer and clearer the British narrative.

To conclude our brief observations on early Christianity in Britain. We may suggest that the due answer to the inquiry, Who were the first Christians in Britain? is, that the same were Aristobulus and those who were converted by his preaching; his mission undoubtedly being the best authenticated as the first which took place.

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## A D D E N D A.

### MISCELLANEA.

THE JUGANTES OF TACITUS, p. 14. This name seems now pretty well confirmed by coins (see the *Coins of Cunobeline*, etc., p. 258), as a generic name for the Iceni, or part of them. But the usual manuscripts of the *Agricola* of Tacitus have the reading of the passage (*Agricola*, c. 31), "Brigantes fœminâ duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra—potuere" i.e. the Brigantes, with a woman for their leader, were able to burn their colony and take their camp. Camden, however, introduced the present reading "Trinobantes" for Brigantes, though without any authority. This alteration, nevertheless by our eminent antiquary, has certainly tended to obscure ancient British history; for it is now pretty certain that the word Brigantes in the original was a blunder for Jugantes, or otherwise Uigantes; that is, the Iceni. Tacitus has Jugantes in another place (*Annals* xii, 40); where it apparently means the Iceni, or a portion of that nation.

MINES OF THE ICENI, p. 17. The western parts of the territories of this state were rich in mines, some of which are known to have been worked in times of antiquity; and that the Romans seized the mines of the Britons very soon after their arrival, appears to be ascertained from inscriptions on ingots of lead still extant. Indeed, there is Nero's stamp on one of these relics from part of the Icenian state, of the date of his fourth consulship, which extended from the year 60 to the year 67. We must premise that the word *Kian* means Cangi; and it reads, NERONIS AUG. EX. KIAN IIII. COS. BRIT. HUL. P. M. CO. EX. ARGE. N. CAPA. OC. IV. XXX. (See *Monum. Historica Brit.*, p. cxix). We mention these particulars to suggest that the loss of the mines is alluded to in the speech of Boadicea to her countrymen, as recorded in Xiphilinus. Her words as applying to this point are, "Οὐ τῶν μὲν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κτημάτων ὅλων ἐστερήμεθα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τέλη καταβάλλομεν." In English: Have we not been despoiled of our best and amplest possessions? and do we not pay tribute for the remainder? Here, though the Greek word *κτῆμα* in the singular signifies an estate, or lands, yet in the plural number

as κτήματα it always imports goods or possessions. In turning, therefore, our attention to this part of her address, it would seem that as κτήματα cannot imply provinces conquered from the Icenii by the Romans, the most obvious signification is, that she alludes to the loss of their mines, the principal source of their national wealth, and possibly then quite recent and severely felt. The mines indeed, of a state which had few other resources, might justly have been termed its greatest and amplest possessions.

THE BATTLE OF LLONGBORTH, p. 65. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Henry of Huntingdon give the victory to the Saxons on this occasion, but Aneurin, the Cambrian poet, who happened to be in the south of Britain at the time, and was in this battle, being then a youth, informs us that the Britons were the victors. Llongborth is Portchester. (See before, p. 355.)

THE SAXON WAR IN BRITAIN, p. 73. The long continuance of this war and its disastrous nature, called forth the animadversion of the historian Hume, as noted at the above page. We may find also a remark in a medieval writer, Ponticus Virunnius, that he knew no instance of any province of the Roman empire exposed to equal ravages and desolations, (see his *History of the Britons*, 12mo, p. 43). Indeed, it lasted 132 years. It was probably prolonged by the Britons adopting Roman military tactics. (See before, pp. 69, 70). They also appear to have had skilful commanders, as scarcely one is complained of by their writers, except Caradoc at the close of the above period; whose fault we may gather was his dissensions with the other British chiefs, and in consequence not collecting sufficient forces. On the other hand, on the part of the Saxons the contest apparently became more protracted from the custom which they had, in some southern parts of the kingdom at least, of clearing off the British inhabitants before them (see p. 75), which must necessarily have kept their own population thin, and checked their progress.

AURELIUS VERECUNDUS, p. 92. A family which bore the second of these appellations may be judged to have had possessions, that is, mines, in Britain. See *MONUMENTA HISTORICA BRITANNICA*, p. CXX, where is an inscription, on an ingot of lead, in this form: L. ARUCONI VERECUND. METAL. LUTUD. However, neither this nor the inscription at p. 92, supply us with indications of date.

THE ROMAN CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES in Britain, after the time of *Valentinian*, showing under what Officers of State at Rome they held their power. (P. 102.)

THE EMPEROR.

Comes Rerum Privatarum in Britannia.	Praefectus Praetorio Galliae.	Magister Peditum Praesentalis Occidentis.	Praefectus Praetorio Italiae.	Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.
Rationalis Rei Privatae per Britannias.	VICARIUS BRITANNIARUM (Viceroy of Britain.)	i. Comes Britanniae. (1 Legion?, 3 Coh., 6 Alae. ii. Comes Littoris Saxonici, per Britanniam. 1 Legion, 6 Coh., 2 Alae. iii. Dux Britanniarum. 1 Legion, 25 Coh., 6 Alae.	Dux Mogontiacensis, under whom was the Praefectus Classis Anderetianorum.	i. Rationalis Summarum Britanniae (Account- ant General). ii. Praepositus Thesaurorum Augustensium in Britannia. iii. Procurator Gynaecei Bi- cennensis (Ventensis), i. e. Superintendent of the clothing ma- nufactory at Win- chester.
	i. Consular Governor of Maxima Caesariensis. ii. Consular Governor of Valentia. iii. President of Britannia Prima. iiii. President of Britannia Secunda. v. President of Flavia Caesariensis.			

ANDERIDA THE PORTUS NOVUS OF PTOLEMY. p. 112. We have noted the probability and presumption that Anderida and Portus Adurni are in reality inserted on the map called the Peutingerian Tables, and not Isca Dumnoniorum and (Mo)ridunum, as usually supposed. In the like way on the present occasion, we have to offer the suggestion of the identity of Anderida and the Portus Novus of Ptolemy, which, indeed, we are able to support by an argument of some considerable validity.

Ptolemy places Portus Novus between Dover to the north and Portus Magnus to the south; and there are only four places in the intervening space that can by any possibility coincide in situation with it. These are as follows: Romney, Rye, Hastings, and Anderida. Of these, the first is entirely set out of the question. For in the year 750, at the time of Offa's grant to the church of Canterbury, when there was sea to the east, north, and west, of Lydd, which is only a short distance off to the south, we may say that there could hardly be such a state of the coast, to render it probable that Romney, either Old or New, could have been any considerable haven of the sea. Rye, in all probability, was not formed till the alteration in the outline of the coast took place in that quarter, in the reign of Edward the First. Hastings was never a port of magnitude; and thus Anderida or Pevensea was almost of necessity the one in question; and there, in all probability, the port in question may be duly placed. The dense state of the surrounding forest may have prevented it being used as a port in early British time, but when the Romans cultivated the country it might have become a desirable station; and on the fortifications known as Anderida being built there, it may have become the "Novus Portus" of the Alexandrian geographer.

We may submit the above as the due solution of the question relating to the situation of this place; and that the south-eastern stations of the Romans of Lymne, Anderida, and Portus Adurni, were not formed till some considerable time after their first occupation, is usually considered an undoubted fact.

ANCIENT BRITISH MANUSCRIPTS AND ARCHIVES AT VERULAM. p. 191. The time of the deposit of these might very probably have been shortly subsequent to the year 552, when the Saxons, after the battle of Salisbury, seem to have

made a general advance on the inland and western parts of Britain. At that time they might have been walled in in some crypt or recess for their security. To about the same date we may assign likewise, the discovery of another volume which had been possessed by the ancient Britons or Romans, and which, it is believed, forms the sole instance which we may put side by side with the discovery recorded by Matthew Paris at Verulam. The account of it is in Grafton the Chronicler, which we may accordingly give.

This appears to have been found in the reign of Henry the Eighth, at Ivychurch, two miles from Salisbury, and was discovered in a small cist or box formed to receive it of slabs of stone. On coming to light, it was carried to the canons and other priests of Salisbury, who being unable to read it, it was laid aside and became neglected and torn. Next it came into the hands of Grafton himself, who showed it to Mr. Richard Pace, principal secretary to Henry the Eighth, being then, as described, in a bad condition, rent, damaged, and wet, and partly defaced. Mr. Pace appeared to have been of opinion that it was an ancient record relating to Britain, but, we are told, only succeeded in decyphering the word "Pri-tannia" of its contents (See Grafton's *Chronicle*, Sir H. Ellis's edition, 1809, p. 27). We may concur with the opinion expressed as above, so far as considering it as the book of office of some public functionary of the day; and the pains taken in preserving it may be viewed as an argument in point.

SAWL BEN UCHEL. p. 226. The tumulus near Kidwelly in Caermarthenshire, bearing the name of this ancient British chief or king who is believed to have reigned rather more than a century before the Christian era, was opened on the 22d of April, 1850, and a skeleton found in good preservation in it, the soil containing a large admixture of peat earth. An interesting account of the discovery is given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1851, pp. 159-162; and as the names of some localities in the neighbourhood seem to have a reference to the leader in question, the evidence for the attribution appears to be, as far as the subject admits, very satisfactory. Roberts has the name as above, Ben Uchel; but Benisel is said to be the correct form; and so it stands in the pedigree of the Penrhyn family (see before, page 226).

PENDRAGONS OF THE BRITONS, p. 306. The ancient British Chronicles may be justly considered as unworthy of credit

when they speak of the early British kings as if they were pendragons or sovereigns of the whole island, whereas they only seem to have been the heads of certain kingdoms or confederacies of the Britons; as *Beli Mawr*. The first pendragon, who is authentically mentioned, is *Cassibelan*, as we have on *Cæsar's* authority. On the other hand it is manifest that there was no pendragon elected at the time of the invasion of *Aulus Plautius* or *Claudius*; nor was there afterwards during the times of the wars of the Romans in the island, unless *Caractacus* might have been, or the person named *Arviragus*, of whom we know so little, whose title or appellation, seems to imply "High King." After the Romans left, the office was undoubtedly conferred in its fullest extent on *Constantine of Armorica* for the greater security of the Britons against the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Saxons*. After him it was held successively by *Vortigern*, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, *Uther Pendragon*, and others; indeed long after the Britons were driven into *Wales*, to the death of *Cadwalader the Great* in the year 688. Latterly it became merged in the appellation of *King of Wales*, which was the extent of the title of *Roderic the Great*; and which we may consider the last form of this ancient jurisdiction.

The name pendragon is of course a species of sobriquet, as before explained (see page 43). *Nennius* calls *Arthur* simply "*Dux bellorum*," or leader in the wars. (See his *History*, c. 56). The authority appears at no time to have become converted into a monarchy, properly speaking in this island.

THE TEMPLE OF *CLAUDIUS* AT *CAMULODUNUM*, p. 318. Since the passage referred to as above was printed, a Dissertation has been published by the *Rev. H. Jenkins*, rector of *Stanway*, *Essex*, in the endeavour to show that the Temple of *Claudius* remains still in existence in the present *Colchester Castle*. We will therefore briefly state the arguments for and against.

The arguments in favour are (1) some slight general similarity of form of the castle with the model of a Roman fortification found at *Pompeii*, being a brazier made in that shape. (See the *Antiquities of Pompeii*, 12mo, 1834, vol. ii, p. 303; as also various figures of fortresses in the *Notitia* of *Pancirolus*, vol. i, p. 227), and (2) no great dissimilarity of the cement used in the building from Roman mortar; as also string courses of Roman bricks arranged in their style, and the form of construction called herring-bone work.



On the other hand, the arguments against are (1) the almost entire similarity of the building with the usual keeps of Norman castles; and the adoption of the newel in the staircase, and (2) the instance the Cathedral of St. Albans which, according to Matthew Paris, was built in the eleventh century, and has a close imitation of Roman work in the earlier parts. These last reasons will probably prevail with most. However, it is pretty certain it stands near the spot where the temple of Claudius was situated, and excavations might perhaps make further interesting disclosures.

Mr. Jenkins has certainly met with far greater success in his paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix, for 1841, p. 243, in assigning the Palace and Citadel of Cunobeline to Lexden, two miles from Colchester. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline, etc.*, p. 226).

THE SONS OF CUNOBELINE, p. 324. One of the lines of the fine poetical effusion, by an anonymous author, cited at the above page, will, on examination, be found to throw some considerable light on the state of Britain immediately subsequent to Cunobeline's death. The one we mean is this,

“Libera non hostem, non passa Britannia regem.”

At the foregoing page we have translated this verse thus: “Britain hitherto free and not enduring either an enemy or foreign king,” which certainly is a correct way of rendering the words generally; but as we now suppose them to have had a particular allusion, the due construction will of course vary with it, and the expressions require a more definite rendering in our language. We may suspect it will be nearer to the sense of the writer of the verses thus: “Britain hitherto too free to endure either *the* enemy or *the* king appointed over her.” Here, neither “the enemy” nor “the king” could mean the Roman power, as war was not yet declared, and besides the Roman governors of conquered kingdoms were proprætors and not kings. We may, therefore, suspect that the true solution of this enigmatical line is, that the Romans, according to their frequent custom in foreign kingdoms, over which they professed to have influence, had taken upon themselves to appoint a successor to Cunobeline in the person of Adminius, who had shortly before fled to them for refuge, and also had professed to re-appoint Bericus to his territories, who had also lately left the island and sought their aid.

It may be asked how otherwise could Adminius have returned to Britain, as it appears he did by his numerous coins

struck there, he who, when last mentioned, was a prisoner in Italy? The proceedings we allude to, namely, the appointing a king on the decease of the previous ruler, and reinstating a subordinate prince, would only have been a part of the usual Roman policy to sap the strength of a foreign power, and to create disunion among its subjects. The verse appears to show something of the kind was done; and it appears rather obviously from the British Chronicles, from Dion Cassius, Suetonius, and ancient British coins, that Adminius and Bericus were the two persons meant. We have touched on their subsequent fortunes elsewhere. Adminius, it is probable, afterwards joined his countrymen, and Bericus we know was killed in the contest.

THE KINGDOM OF THE BOSPHORUS, p. 361. This which was on the further shores of the Euxine, near the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and not in Asia Minor as before erroneously described, was the most eastern portion of the Roman Empire as Britain was the westernmost. The Romans, however, seem only to have exercised an influence here, as they had not permanently an army in this quarter.

LUCIUS, ETC., p. 409. The coins attributed by Usher, in his *Primordia*, p. 22, to this British king, belong to the South of France. Those he refers to are inscribed LVC.; but other varying types of them read LVCI. and LVCCIO. (See Lelewel's *Type Gaulois*, plate ix, figs. 37 and 38.)

Regarding emblems and memorials of the early Christians in Britain. Some of the rude stone sepulchral obelisks of Wales, Cornwall, and Devonshire, of the fourth and fifth century, are so assigned: and the remains of a Roman-British sarcophagus, supposed Christian, were discovered at Barming, in Kent, some years since. (See Mr. C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, p. 184.) On a pavement at Frampton, in Dorsetshire, the Greek monogram of our Saviour, the  $\chi$  blended with the  $\rho$  is found. (See Lyson's *Reliquiæ*.) Likewise a cross appears on the Roman pavement at Harpole, in Northamptonshire, communicated by Mr. Pretty, to the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for 1850, p. 126. There may be other instances.

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# I N D E X.

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- A.
- ABALLAVA, 99, 106, 108.  
 Aberdeen, Charters of, 256.  
 Aberlemmo, 266.  
 Abury, 261-3, 282-4, 286, 289.  
 Acco, 295.  
 Actium, battle of, 237.  
 Ada, sister of Aurelius Ambrosius, 245.  
 Adminius, 3, 9, 223, 296, 297, 304, 308, 317, 417, 418.  
 Adurni Portus, 101, 112, 144, 414.  
 Ædri, a supposed British tribe in Richard of Cirencester, 117.  
 Ædri, a Gaulish state, 294.  
 Aedenawg, 296.  
 Aedorix, 296, 297.  
 Aedd, 296, 297, 305, 308, 317.  
 Aedd Mawr, 226, 297.  
 Aedd Menw, 296, 304.  
 Aeddau Voeddog, 296.  
 Aegneaham, battle of, 79.  
 Ælia Castra, 125, 126.  
 Ælian naval cohort, 20.  
 Ælius Capitolinus (Asclepiodotus), 67.  
 Æmilianus, 162.  
 Æmilius, Paulus, 359.  
 Æneas, 290.  
 Æsc, 52-4, 66.  
 Æsica, 99, 105.  
 Ætius, 40, 41.  
 Affalach, 226.  
 Afflech, 226.  
 Agricola, 13, 15, 333, 339, 348, 394-5, 411.  
 Agrippina, 370.  
 Aidan, king of the Scots, 245.  
 Akeman Street, 95.  
 Akerman, 364.  
 Alaric, 337.  
 Alauna of Caledonia, 125.  
 Alauna, 104, 125, 126.  
 Alban, St., 207.  
 (St.) Alban's Cathedral, 417.  
 Albania, 214.  
 Alberedorf, in Holstein, 276.  
 Alchester (Oxfordshire), 125, 315.  
 Alchester (Warwickshire), 125, 126.  
 Alcluth, 78, 81.  
 Aldroneus, king of Armorica, 241, 245.  
 Alfred, 219, 247.  
 Alfred of Beverley, 213.  
 Alfred's Orosius, 19.  
 Aliona, 99.  
 Alisgapitulus (Asclepiodotus), 67.  
 Altars (Druidical), 268.  
 Alwn Alerw, 235.  
 Alysgapitulus (Asclepiodotus), 194, 239, 245.  
 Allectus, 171, 177, 178, 239, 391.  
 Ambiani, 134.  
 Ambrose, St., of Milan, 66.  
 Amboglanna, 99, 106.  
 Ambresbury, the monastery of, 285.  
 Ambrius, the monastery of, 285.  
 Amlaith the Great, 245.  
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 98, 113, 150, 220, 341.  
 Amminius (Adminius), 296, 297.  
 Amwn, 305, 315, 318, 326, 354.  
 Anarawd, prince of North Wales, 83, 241.  
 Ancalites, 147.  
 Anchersen, Professor, 141.  
 Anchises, 221.  
 Anderida, 20, 61, 62, 65, 101, 112, 132, 284, 414.  
 Anderetiani, 413.  
 Andras, 226.  
 Andronicus and Junia, 394.  
 Androgeus (Temancius), 223, 227, 228-30, 232-4, 236, 298, 302.  
 Aneurin, 83, 165, 280, 281, 355, 412.  
 Anglesea, 274, 277.  
 Anglia, 205.  
 Angora Inscription, 8.  
 Anna, sister of Aurelius Ambrosius, 245.  
 Annales Cambrie, 81.  
 Anthemius, 56.  
 Antivestæum promontory, 111, 144.  
 Antona, station, 124.  
 Antona, river, 117, 118, 370.  
 Antoninus, the wall of, 23, 335.  
 Antoninus, the Itinerary of, 88, 105, 109, 115, 124, 126, 127, 133, 142, 89, 93-7, 151, 157-9, 106, 64, 334, 335, 339.  
 Antoninus, Lyon's edition of, 159.  
 Antoninus Pius, 120, 335, 336, 408.  
 Antony (Mark), 303, 336.  
 Appollodoros, 260.  
 Aquæ, 108.  
 Aquæ Solis (Bath), 79, 96, 131.  
 Arbeia, 100.

- Arch, 235.  
 Archæologia, 155, 157, 209, 255-7, 263, 264, 268, 275, 335, 342, 417.  
 Archæologia Cambrensis, 272, 287, 415.  
 Archæological Congress at Canterbury, 275.  
 Ardaoneon, 108.  
 Ariconium, 132.  
 Aristobulus, 393, 400, 401, 403-6, 409, 410.  
 Aristotle, 193.  
 Arlos, the Council of, 45.  
 Armorica, 59, 84, 88, 110, 135, 171, 173, 201, 204-6, 241-6, 301.  
 Armoricans Britons, 173, 174.  
 Armoricans, British kings, Chronicle of, 206, 293.  
 Armoricans manuscript of Tysilio, 205.  
 Arthur, the British king, 43, 63, 64, 70, 71, 72, 73, 88, 136, 156, 166, 171, 187, 190, 193, 197, 200, 201, 204, 222, 241, 245-7, 279, 292, 416.  
 Arthmael or Arthal, 224-6.  
 Arviragus, 214, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 305, 322, 325, 353, 416.  
 Arvon, 157.  
 Ascanius, 221, 290.  
 Asclepiodotus, 15, 67, 186, 194, 232, 239, 245, 391.  
 Ashdown, battle of, 270.  
 Asplin's Alkibla, 260.  
 Asser, 75.  
 Association, British Archæological, references to the Journal of, 93, 271, 335, 418.  
 ——— Proceedings of, at Gloucester, 340.  
 Atepielos, the Gaulish chief, 295.  
 Athenæus, 113.  
 Athelstan, 81, 195.  
 Attacotti, 146.  
 Atreates, 2, 93, 136, 159, 299, 326, 357, 358.  
 Aufona river, 118.  
 Augustus the emperor, 174, 234, 236, 238, 253, 298, 309, 318, 360, 361, 387.  
 Auloch, 244.  
 Aunlach, 244.  
 Aurelian, the emperor, 162.  
 Aurelius Verecundus, Inscription of, 92, 412.  
 Aurelius Ambrosius, 12, 43, 44, 52, 57, 59-63, 64-7, 165, 168, 186, 211, 222, 240, 241, 244, 245, 255, 284, 286-8, 291, 301, 408.  
 Aurelius Ambrosius, the peace of, 284.  
 Aurelius Conanus, 44, 76-8, 241, 245.  
 Aurelius, Marcus, the emperor, 336.  
 Aureolus, 162.  
 Ausonius, 135.  
 Authorities, Roman, in Britain, 413.  
 Auxilia Palatina, 344.  
 Avarwy, 298.  
 Avon, the Warwickshire, 11, 312, 313, 372.  
 Axelodunum, 99, 106.  
 Ayerdeyern, 244.  
 Aylesford, battle of, 50, 52, 55, 59, 68, 244.  
 Aylesbury, battle of, 79.
- B.
- Badon, (Mount) battle of, 59, 62, 284.  
 (Via) Badonica, 323.  
 Bagneux, Cromlech of, 276.  
 Baker, Sir Richard, 213, 251.  
 Bale, 167.  
 Ballista, 162.  
 Ballymote, the book of, 182.  
 Banbury, battle of, 69, 77.  
 Banna, 105, 106.  
 Barberini Inscription, 319, 345-53, 370, -1.  
 Barberini palace, 346, 347.  
 Bards, the, 85, 111, 279.  
 Bardic Poems, Irish, 225.  
 Baronius, 408.  
 Barrington, Daines, 322.  
 Bartholinus, 270.  
 Bath, 126, 263, 318.  
 Batteley's Richborough and Reculver, 88, 130.  
 Battle, great one in Britain in the fifth century, 38.  
 Battle, locality not known, 50.  
 Baxter, 4, 5, 78, 88, 89, 91, 111, 117, 125, 139, 141, 144, 147-152, 158, 296-300.  
 Bec, Abbey of, 209, 228.  
 Becke, Mr., 155.  
 Beda and Megla, Saxon leaders, 65, 288.  
 Beda, references to, 46, 48, 58, 66, 75, 78, 128, 146, 160, 187, 206, 207, 216, 241, 385, 407, 408.  
 Bede's Chronicle, 207.  
 Bedford, battle of, 79.  
 Beiscawen, Convention of Britons at, 289.  
 Belgæ, the southern, 305.  
 Belgæ and Dumnonii, 330, 331, 333, 365, 366, 369, 383.  
 War against, 325-333.  
 Belgæ, 2, 9, 10, 24, 35, 45, 91-5, 120, 131, 136, 148, 225, 283, 318, 325, 326, 328, 332-3, 390-2.  
 Belgæ-Durotriges, 332, 391.  
 Belgæ, Inscription relating to, 92.  
 Belgic Chronicles, 47, 49, 297.  
 Belgic Gauls, 145, 217, 219, 221, 224, 226, 325.  
 (British) Belgium, 391, 392.  
 Beli ap Rhun, 243.  
 Beli Mawr, 7, 192, 217, 221, 226, 227, 229, 230, 232, 290, 291, 295, 300, 357, 416.  
 Belinus (Cassibalan), 228.  
 Belinus, son of Cunobeline, 305.  
 Belinus, 236.  
 Belinus and Bran or Brennus, 217, 224-5.  
 Bellaunos, a British prince, 8, 9.  
 Bellovac, 134.  
 Belys Galys (Livius Gallus), p. 194.  
 Belzoni, 261.  
 Benlan, 184, 185.  
 Bennona, 126, 148.  
 Bensington, battle of, 79.  
 Bericus. See Vericus.  
 Bernard's Catalogue of Manuscripts, 123, 137, 201.

- Berne, the library of, 197.  
 Beroaldus, 297.  
 Bertius, 130.  
 Bertram, C. J., 114-16, 121, 126, 129, 132-4, 136-9, 141, 180, 184, 187.  
 Berry, 260.  
 Bibroci, 147.  
 Bicester, 125.  
 Bircke, 273.  
 Birrensworke, 122.  
 Bituriges, 56.  
 Bituriges Cubi and Bituriges Vibisci, 57.  
 Bittern, 163.  
 Bladud, 224, 226.  
 Blegoryd, 226.  
 Boadicea, 147, 174, 299, 300, 318, 338, 341, 353, 399, 411.  
 Boccaccio, 260.  
 Boecking's Notitia Imperii, 343.  
 Boduni, 310. *See* Dobuni.  
 Boethius (Hector), 248, 252-6.  
 Bohan, 266.  
 Bohn's Antiquarian Library, 199.  
 Bolerion promontory, 111.  
 Bonus, 244.  
 Borcovicus, 99, 105.  
 Borlase, 272, 273.  
 Bosporus, the kingdom of, 418.  
 Bow, the Ford of, 814, 815, 855.  
 Braboniacum, 100.  
 Bran ap Lyr, 12, 235, 238-42.  
 Branodunum, 23, 100.  
 Brechin, 266.  
 Brementenracum, 99.  
 Bremenium, 131.  
 Briscat, 244.  
 Brigantes, 2, 7-9, 12, 16, 22, 37, 38, 40, 41, 46, 49, 78, 91, 104, 111, 122, 131, 145, 147, 148, 150, 318, 325, 353, 372-4, 383, 411.  
 Brigantes of Spain, 111.  
 Brigantes, kingdom of, 2, 7.  
 Brigantes, Inscription relating to, 93.  
 Brigas, 93.  
 Brimham Rocks, 268.  
 Brinavis, 104, 125, 144.  
 Britain, provinces of, 45, 97, 103.  
 Britain, length and breadth of, 111.  
 Britanni, 134.  
 Britannia Prima, province of, 14, 35, 44, 46, 97-9, 129, 131, 332, 399, 413.  
 Britannia Secunda, province of, 14, 24, 97-9, 129, 131, 328, 413.  
 Britannia Prima of Ravennas, 103, 104, 129.  
 Secunda of Ravennas, 103-4, 129.  
 Tertia of Ravennas, 103-4, 129.  
 Quarta of Ravennas, 103-4, 129.  
 Britannia, Major and Minor, 88, 128, 205.  
 Britannia Prima, according to Baxter, 145.  
 Secunda, according to Baxter, 145-6.  
 Tertia, according to Baxter, 145.  
 Quarta, according to Baxter, 145.  
 Britannia, 117, 120.  
 Britannia Minor. *See* Armorica.  
 Britannicus, 362.  
 Britany, Druidical Temple in, 264.  
 Britany. *See* Armorica.  
 British States, Inscriptions relating to, 92.  
 British Bishop, 45.  
 British Chronicles, 55, 302, 304, 410.  
 British princes offer presents in the Capitol, 8.  
 British Kings, line of, as in the Chronicles, 216.  
 British Kings, mythic period, 224.  
 concurrent dynasties, 224.  
 British Coins, 805, 418.  
 (Ancient) British Manuscripts, 191-2, 414.  
 Brito, Varinus, 209.  
 Britons, their tactics, 74, 412.  
 Britons, their dissensions with the Romans, 8.  
 Britons, asserted to put to death their governors, 30.  
 causes of their revolts, 33.  
 cease to pay Roman tribute, 34.  
 take the Danes into their service, 46.  
 nature of their contest with the Saxons, 47, 70, 73-6, 80, 412.  
 retire into Wales, 79, 80, 83.  
 Britton, Mr., 137.  
 Brotier's Tacitus, 383.  
 Brutus, mythic British king, 167, 202, 209, 217, 221, 224.  
 Brutus Greenshield, mythic British king, 224.  
 Bryn Gwyddon, Convention of, 289.  
 Buchanan's Scottish History, references to, 86, 61, 202.  
 Burdeswald, 163.  
 Burgess' Topography of Rome, 381.  
 Burgundians, kingdom of the, 56.  
 Burton, commentator on Antoninus, 88.
- O,
- Oabiri, 263.  
 Cadan, 132.  
 Cadell, 226.  
 Cadell, king of South Wales, 241.  
 Cadur, 13, 245.  
 Cadvan, 241, 243.  
 Cadwallader the Great, 240, 241, 243, 416.  
 Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, 241, 243, 291.  
 Cadwallon, the son of Cynan, 234.  
 Caesar, Julius, 109, 113, 117, 200, 207-9, 214, 215, 217, 218, 220, 222, 223, 229, 232, 237, 248, 291, 306, 308, 309, 319, 321, 324, 338, 349-51.  
 Caesar's Commentaries, references to, 43, 95, 129, 147, 150, 153, 156, 157, 236, 253, 258, 259, 273, 283, 294, 298, 302, 307, 321, 328, 416.  
 Caesar's first expedition to Britain, 339.  
 second expedition to Britain, 338-9.  
 Caesar, the title of, 161, 162.  
 Caesaromagus, 104.  
 Cæsius, 114.

- Caer-al-Ciwd (Dumbarton), 80.  
 Caer Caradoc (Salisbury), 46, 289.  
 Caer Caradoc, Shropshire, 373.  
 Caer Custeint, 157.  
 Caer Gwent (Winchester), 39, 45.  
 Caer Gybi, in Holyhead Island, 143.  
 Caer Segont, near Carnarvon, 94.  
 Caerleon (Warwick), 39, 45, 57.  
 Caerleon, or Ica Silurum, 99, 123, 124, 287, 289, 385.  
 Caerlumber (Warwick), 39, 44.  
 Caerwrrongon (Worcester), 39, 45.  
 Caerwent (Venta Silurum), 39, 124.  
 Caff, 226.  
 Calabri, 144.  
 Caledonia, 84, 87, 120, 121, 125, 145, 150, 216, 245, 252, 280.  
 Caledoniana, 18, 78, 97, 100, 165, 215, 325, 336.  
 Caledonian forests, 184.  
 Caledonian Wood, the Northern, 135.  
     the Midland, 134.  
     the Southern, 134.  
     of Arthur, 136.  
 Caledonian Ocean, 134, 135.  
 Calenius Walter, 197, 199, 201, 205.  
 Caligula, 223, 304, 309, 378.  
 Calleva, 132, 159, 299, 358.  
 Calshot Castle, 288.  
 Calvus, king of Strathclyd, 81.  
 Calyddon, 134.  
 Camalet, 132.  
 Camber, mythic British king, 202.  
 Camblane, battle of, 245.  
 Cambodunum, 131.  
 Camboritum, 94, 131.  
 Cambreis, a poem so called, 171.  
 Cambria (Wales), 79, 83, 84, 86, 291.  
 Cambria, or Cumbria (Strathclyd), 85, 86.  
 Cambria, literature of, 83, 84.  
 Cambridge, 131.  
 Cambrian Poets, 287.  
 Cambrian Register, 269.  
 Cambrian Quarterly Magazine, 244.  
 Camden, references to, 16, 41, 64, 85, 88, 110, 118, 123, 130, 133, 139, 142, 149, 151, 154, 155, 159, 202, 203, 368, 411.  
 Camps, Roman, on the Severn and Avon, 11.  
 Camps deserted, 145.  
 Camulodunum, 12, 90, 93, 104, 105, 131, 147, 148, 223, 312, 317, 318, 320, 324, 327-9, 345, 358, 364, 372-4, 393, 416.  
 Candida Casa, 78.  
 Candidan, a British chief, 79.  
 Cangani, 149.  
 Canganum promontory, 149.  
 Cangi, 5, 6, 11, 15, 117, 119, 120, 144, 145, 149, 150, 326, 372, 383, 411.  
 Cannegieter, 92, 134, 297.  
 Canterbury, 351.  
 Cantii, 2, 12, 61, 89, 104, 131, 136, 326, 383, 391.  
 Cantiopolis, 131.  
 Cantium, 89, 90.  
 Cantuivetrin, 144.  
 Canubium, 104.  
 Capella, 260.  
 Capitula, Roman provincial, in Britain, 99.  
 Caspoir, 226, 227, 228-30, 233.  
 Caracalla, 130.  
 Caractacus, 11, 12, 147, 205, 216, 223, 231, 235, 238, 239, 295, 299, 305, 308-10, 312, 322, 331, 350, 354, 356-359, 363, 370, 373, 381, 383, 389, 390, 401, 404, 410, 416.  
 Caradoc, king of Dumnonia, 245.  
 Caradoc of Llanccarvan, 73, 166, 196.  
 Caradoc's Chronicle, references to, 81, 85.  
 Caradog ap Iestin, 235.  
 Carausius, 21, 33, 215, 239, 339, 342.  
     references to, in Nennius, 29, 30, 32.  
     references to, in Gildas, 33, 171, 174, 175, 405.  
 Caredig, 44, 79, 240, 243, 412.  
 Carlisle, 136.  
 Carnac, 261, 264, 265, 282.  
 Carnarvon, 157.  
 Carnedda, 268.  
 Carron, battle of, 61.  
 Carsdike, 119.  
 Cartimandua, 147, 148.  
 Cassii, or Catiocchlani, 2, 90, 92, 105, 108, 144, 145, 147, 149, 299, 304, 310, 312, 326, 327.  
 Cassibela, 43, 147, 217, 218, 226, 229-32, 233, 236, 290, 295, 300, 416.  
 Cassiodorus, Chronicle of, 322, 348, 364, 380, 381.  
 Caswallon, Law Hir, 240, 243.  
 Cat Coit Celidon, 136.  
 Cataractacon, 131.  
 Catigern, 50, 52, 244.  
 Cattraeth, battle of, 165.  
 Catus Decianus, 399.  
 Caw, a supposed Caledonian king, 165.  
 Caxton's Chronicle, 212.  
 Cedrenus, the Annals of, 260.  
 Ceidog, 235.  
 Celsus, 162.  
 Celtae Conrad, 113.  
 Celtic Literature, 83, 84.  
 Celtic monarchies, 43.  
 Celtic body guards of Constantine and Constans, 38, 42.  
 Celtillus, 43, 217.  
 Celts, Roman troops so called, 311, 313, 314, 320.  
 Cenaw (Conan Meriadaug), 242.  
 Cenimagni, 146, 147.  
 Ceraint, 235.  
 Cerdicesford, battle at, 69.  
 Cerdices Ore, 65, 68, 288.  
 Cerealis, 12, 13, 185.  
 Ceri Hir Byrwyng Lyngwyn, 235.  
 Certic, 65, 68, 69, 288.  
 Ceryn, or Kereni, 226.  
 Cetti, the stone of, 287.  
 Cevyn Bryn, 287.

- Chaldeans, the, 191.  
 Charlemagne, 193.  
 Chattaway, references to, 80, 81, 289.  
 Chauci, 303, 331, 361, 367.  
 Cheavlyn, 69, 79.  
 Chester Inscription, 16, 146.  
 Chester, 334, 340.  
 Chesterford, 131.  
 Chichester, 386, 390.  
 Chichester Inscription, 15, 157, 299, 324, 333, 385, 390, 397, 402, 406.  
 Chiddingstone, 267.  
 (The Quatuor) Chimini of William the Conqueror, 151.  
 Chiahull, reference to, 9.  
 Chorea Gigantum (Stonehenge), 287.  
 (De) Choul, 817.  
 Christianity in Ancient Britain, 385-410, 418.  
 Christina, queen of Sweden, 132.  
 Chronicles, British, their origin, 85, 190, 192, 210, 249.  
 Chronicles of Eri (Irish Chronicles so called), 111.  
 Chronicles, Armorican, 200, 206, 207.  
 Chronicles, Scotch, 203, 248.  
 Chronicles, Irish, 248.  
 Chronicle writers, their sources of information, 210.  
 Chronicles, the British, 145, 165-251, 198, 206, 213, 240, 247, 286, 305, 306, 312, 315, 333, 353, 391, 415, 418.  
 Chronicles, the British and Dion Cassius, 353.  
 Churches destroyed, 75.  
 Cicero, 109.  
 Cicero, Quintus, 388.  
 Cichican Channel (the North or Irish Sea), 182.  
 Cilcestria, 156.  
 Cilurnum, 99, 105.  
 Cimbri of Holstein, 86.  
 Cingetorix, 295.  
 Circles in the South Sea Islands, 254.  
 (Stone) Circles in Iceland, 256.  
     in Scotland, 256.  
 Circle of Stonehenge, 255.  
 Circles in the Isle of Man, 254.  
 (The) Circle of Britannia (Stonehenge), 288.  
 Cirencester, 79, 126.  
 Cissa, 59.  
 Cities in Britain, 105, 182.  
 Classernees, 282.  
 Classiarii Britannici, 335.  
 Classis Sambrice, 100.  
 Claudia Rufina, 392, 393, 395-402, 406.  
 Claudian, references to, 47, 337.  
 Claudius Roman emperor, 171, 174, 214, 228, 231, 232, 253, 303, 305, 306, 308, 309, 312, 315-19, 321-4, 326, 327, 329-31, 338-40, 343, 345, 348-53, 356, 360-74, 378, 380-3, 387-9, 392, 395, 405, 416-17.  
 Claudius Gothicus, Roman emperor, 167, 338.  
 Claudiocestria, 312, 322, 337.  
 (Aquæ) Claudias, 379, 382.  
 (Colonia) Claudiopolis, 374.  
 Clausentum, 125.  
 Clemens Maximus, 25, 26, 27, 30, 33, 240, 245, 246, 341, 343.  
 Clement of Rome, 402, 403.  
 Clerk, Sir John, 122.  
 Cligneillus, 223, 233. See Cligut, Digneillus, and Gwiguillus.  
 Clinton's Fasti Romani, 380, 381.  
 (Roman) Clothing Manufactory at Winchester, 413.  
 Cluverius, 134.  
 Clydno, 226.  
 Clydoc, 226.  
 Coccium, 131.  
 Coel, II, 226, 227.  
 Coel Goedhebawg, 226, 235, 239, 240, 242.  
 Coel or Coillus, British king, 228-5, 238, 410.  
 Coeten Arthur, the Cromlech of, 287.  
 Cogidubnus, 12, 15, 16, 157, 299, 333, 306, 386, 387, 389, 390-2, 395, 397, 409, 410.  
 Cohorts, Roman auxiliary, 343, 344.  
 Coins of Cunobeline and of the ancient Britons, 3, 5, 9, 10, 148, 225, 238, 299, 305-7, 354, 358, 411, 417.  
 Coins, British, referred to, 3, 5, 418.  
 Coinage first introduced into Britain, 225.  
 Colchester Castle, 416, 417.  
 Colchester, 416.  
 Colinus, the Belgic Chronicle of, 88.  
 Collegium, Fabrorum, 386, 388.  
 Comes Africa, 100.  
 Comes Britannia, 98, 101, 341, 413.  
 Comes Tingitanæ, 100.  
 Commagil, a British chief, 79.  
 Commios, the title, 302.  
 Commodus, 360.  
 Conan, a Briton, 37.  
 Conan Tydaethy, 241.  
 Conan Meriadaug, 25, 245, 246.  
 Conanus Aurelius, 76-8.  
 Concangii, 100.  
 Condate, 104.  
 Condercum, 99, 105.  
 Condor, king of Cornwall, 81.  
 Congavata, 99, 106.  
 Coningsburg Castle, 62.  
 Conovium (Caer Rhun), 339.  
 Constans, son of Constantine I, 41.  
 Constans, son of Constantine II, 41-3, 171, 241, 244, 245.  
 Constantine I, or Constantine the Tyrant, 27, 28, 31, 33, 41, 241, 336.  
 Constantine II, or Constantine of Armorica, 38, 39, 41, 57, 171, 241, 245, 416.  
 Constantine III, or Constantine the son of Cadur, 12, 76, 77, 170, 241, 245.  
 Constantine the Great, proof of his birth in Britain, 162.  
 Constantine the Great, 97, 102, 146, 156, 157, 160-164, 242.  
 Constantine, son of Clemens Maximus, 245.  
 Constantine, last king of Strathclyd, 81.

- Constantius Chlorus, 80, 157, 158, 160-4, 171, 175, 178, 235, 239, 242, 343.  
 Constantius II, Roman emperor, 106, 157.  
 Constantius of Lyons, 48.  
 Consular governors in Britain, 45, 97.  
 Conventions, the three of Britain, 239.  
 Cooper, Mr., 197.  
 Coranians, 149, 221.  
 Coranus, 245.  
 Cordelia, 224.  
 Cor Emmrys (Stonehenge), 255, 285, 287.  
 Corguba 143.  
 Corinium, 79, 105, 131.  
 Corineus, mythic personage, 202.  
 Corinavii (Inhabitants of Cornwall), 150.  
 Coritani. *See* Iceni Coritani.  
 Cormac, 170.  
 Cornavii, 5, 6, 15, 89, 104, 117, 119, 120, 131, 144, 146, 328.  
 Cornwall, 82, 86, 87, 239.  
 Corsula, 143.  
 Cotta, 113, 338.  
 Cottonian Library, 137.  
 Cotus, 295.  
 Count of the Saxon Shore, 25, 27, 47, 97, 100, 413.  
 Cramer, 114.  
 Crassus, 303.  
 Crayford, battle of, 53, 55, 58.  
 Crevier, 175.  
 Crida, 79.  
 Crieoh, 257.  
 Crocolana, 143.  
 Cromlecha, 270-8, 282.  
 Croucingum, 144.  
 Cruithinians or Picts, 82.  
 Cuhelyn, 285.  
 Cumberland, 80, 86, 240, 241, 301.  
 Cumbri, kingdom of the, 41, 64, 85.  
 Cumbria or Cambria (Strathclyd), 85, 86, 240, 241.  
 Cumbria (Cumberland), 85, 86.  
 Cunedda, 25, 238, 240, 242, 243.  
 Cunedda and Morgan, 224.  
 Cuneglas, 77, 78, 301.  
 Cuno, derivation of the word, 301.  
 Cunobeline, his territories, 2, 24, 91, 149, 156, 318, 325, 326, 353, 390.  
 Cunobeline, 1, 95, 147, 148, 205, 214, 216, 220, 223, 228-34, 236-9, 295-7, 300, 304-7, 317, 319, 348, 357, 359, 390, 417, his sons, 2, 3, 9, 91, 304-6, 318, 325, 326, 417.  
 coins of, 5, 156, 205, 307.  
 Curia, 121.  
 Curia Otodorum, 144.  
 Cutha, 79.  
 Cuthred, 80.  
 Cuthwine, 79.  
 Cwrwyd, 226.  
 Cyhelin, 225, 227. *See* Cuhelyn.  
 Cyllin, supposed son of Caractacus, 234, 401.  
 Cymen, 59.  
 Cymenes Ore, 59, 284.  
 Cymmru (Wales), 289.  
 Cynan, 227, 235.  
 Cynan. *See* Conan.  
 Cynan ap Gruffydd, 157.  
 Cyndav, 404.  
 Cyndelw, 285.  
 Cynfarch, 224, 245.  
 Cynfarch, II, 225.  
 Cynric, 65, 69, 288.  
 Cyrdon, 226.  
 Cyrias, 162.  
 Cyvrancon, the pile of, 287.  
 Cyvrenun, the, of the Bards, 85.
- D.
- Dalmatia, 361, 363, 383.  
 Daned, 225.  
 Dance, 46, 74, 81, 138.  
 Danum, 100.  
 Darent or Derwent, battle of, 49, 50.  
 Dauw, John, the work of, 138.  
 (St.) David's, 124.  
 Davies, E., his work on Ossian, reference to, 84, 280.  
 Deane, Mr., 261, 264, 265.  
 Deheuvraint, 226, 244.  
 De la Pryme, Mr., 118, 119.  
 Delphi, 265.  
 Demetæ, 24, 35, 45, 77, 90, 91, 150, 244, 246.  
 Denisbourne, battle of, 243.  
 Deorham, battle of, 79.  
 Dergwent, Derwent and varieties of the word, 143, 144.  
 Derventio, 100, 104, 143.  
 De Scheyb, 113.  
 Descriptio Utriusque Britanniae, 88, 128, 293.  
 Deuotriges, 91, 136.  
 Deva, 104, 131, 340.  
 Diaconus Paulus. *See* Paulus Diaconus.  
 Diana, tale of the Oracle of, 290.  
 Diceto, Ralph de, 211, 230, 251, 235.  
 Dicti, 100.  
 Didius, Julius, 369, 373.  
 (Count) Diebitch Sabalkanski, 320.  
 Digneillus 229. *See* Guiguellus.  
 Digol, battle of, 243.  
 Dinas Emmrys, 246.  
 Dinefawr, a Welsh province, 83.  
 Diocletian, 161, 163, 300.  
 Diodorus Siculus, 113, 129, 224.  
 Dion Cassius, references to, 8, 9, 103, 114, 147, 237, 299, 304-6, 309-11, 314, 316, 317, 319, 327, 330, 334-6, 338-40, 345, 352-5, 357, 358, 361, 363-7, 370, 378, 381, 382, 418.  
 Dionysius of Alexandria, 129.  
 Divitiacus, 117, 136, 149, 295.  
 Dobuni, 2, 11, 89, 131, 146, 147, 149, 223, 229, 304, 310, 325, 353, 390, 410.  
 Dodion, 226.  
 Dodwell, 92, 109, 340.



- Dogs, the Isle of, 315.  
 Dolobellus, general of Cassibelan, 228, 536.  
 Domitian, 305, 348, 353, 365.  
 Donatus, 346, 379.  
 Dorchester, 125.  
 Dorotheus, his *Synopsis Apostolorum*, 403, 404.  
 Dorvatum, 143, 144.  
 Dover, 335, 414.  
 Dover, Chronicle of, 211.  
 Dowbridge 125.  
 Downe's Letters from Mecklenburg, 276.  
 Dracontine Temples, 259, 278.  
 Dromceat, Parliament of, 280.  
 Druidical Circles, 254.  
 Druids, 14, 111, 215, 218, 220, 252-3, 273, 279-80, 282-3.  
     of Ireland, 218.  
 Drusus, 237.  
 Duablisia, 144.  
 Dubnovallaunos (Togodubnus), 290, 304.  
 Dubris (Dover), 100, 104.  
 Dumno, 8, 9.  
 Dumnonia, 15, 39, 46, 57, 76, 80, 89, 90, 224, 225, 241, 245, 279-80.  
 Dumnonia, Genealogy of the princes of, 206, 293.  
 Dumnonii, 2, 10, 12, 24, 35, 45, 81, 85, 86, 89, 91, 93, 109-11, 120, 131, 147, 149, 150, 325, 328, 330-2, 390.  
 Dumnonii, Inscriptions relating to, 98.  
 Dunbarton, 78, 80.  
 Dunblisia, 144.  
 Dunium, 91.  
 Dunstable, Chronicle of, 203, 205, 212, 232, 234, 236.  
 Dunwallo Molmutius, 95, 168, 192, 217, 219, 224, 226, 290.  
 Dunwallon, king of Strathclyd, 81.  
 Durcinatis, 104.  
 Durnovaria, 91.  
 Durobrivæ, (Castor) 131.  
 Durobrivæ, (Rochester) 131.  
 Durobrivis, (Castor) 97, 104.  
 Durobrivis, (Rochester) 104.  
 Durocina, 125.  
 Durotriges, 91, 136.  
 Durovernum, 104.  
 Durovigutum, 104.  
 Dux Belgicæ, 100.  
 Dux Britannia, 341, 413.  
 Dwywg, 242.  
 Dyfnarth Prydain, 226.  
 Dynasties concurrent among the Britons, 57, 60, 77.  
 Dyodicia, mythic king of Syria, 212.  
     E.  
 Eadmer, the life of, 191.  
 Eboracum (York), 45, 96, 99, 123, 125, 130, 131, 133.  
 Ebissa, 284.  
 Ebediew the warrior, 271.  
 Eckhel, 336, 378-81.  
 Edeyrn, 235, 242, 244.  
 Edigent, 244.  
 Edinburgh Magazine, 257.  
 Ednos, 244.  
 Edward I, 81, 414.  
 Edwin, king of Northumberland, 243.  
 Efrog, 224.  
 Egbert, 216.  
 Egypt, concurrent dynasties of, 217.  
 Eidol, 226, 235.  
 Eidwal, 226.  
 Eigen, 235.  
 Einion, 226.  
 Einion Urdd, 243.  
 Elbodus, St. 180, 183.  
 Eldoc, 244.  
 Eleutherius, 407, 409.  
 Elidyr, 225.  
 Ella, 59, 61, 65, 66, 284.  
 Ellencester, 125.  
 Ellis, Sir H., 415.  
 Eltanorium, 104.  
 Eltat, 244.  
 Elvryd, 226.  
 Endeyern, 226.  
 Enddowla, 226, 244.  
 Endigant, 226.  
 Endos, 226.  
 Englewood Forest, 136.  
 English Chronicle. *See* Chronicle of Dunstable.  
 Enwerys, 242.  
 Enyd, 226, 244.  
 Equilinus, Peter, his Catalogue of Saints, 407, 408.  
 Erging and Euas, Lordships of, 59, 235, 241.  
 Ermyrn Street, 94-7, 151.  
 Esdraelon, 226.  
 Essex, 315.  
 Ethelfrith, Saxon king, 243.  
 Ethelword, references to, 53, 248.  
 Eubulus, 393, 400, 401.  
 Eudaf, 157, 226, 235, 240, 245.  
 Euemeros, 260.  
 Eugenius, 245.  
 Eumenius, the panegyric writer, 161, 163, 175, 176, 178.  
 Euphrates, 324.  
 Euric, 56.  
 Euripides, 263.  
 Europe, breadth of, 110.  
 Eusebius, 182, 348, 385, 403.  
 Eusebius, the Chronicle of, 364.  
 Eustathius, 129.  
 Eutropius, 11, 19, 47, 102, 194, 239, 326, 327, 366.  
 Evans's Mirror, reference to, 59.  
 (Moel) Ewyr, convention of, 289.  
 Exeter, 332, 338.  
     F.  
 Fabian's Chronicle, 213, 228-9, 234, 237, 251.  
 Farinmagil, a British chief, 79.  
 Fasti Consulares, 361, 362, 364, 381, 382.  
     3 H

- Faustus the monk, 245.  
 Fax, a speculum in Kent, 20.  
 Fedalnea, battle of, 79.  
 Fenton, historian of Pembrokeshire, 124.  
 Fermacl, 244.  
 Ferruci, 352.  
 Fervex Porrex, 224-5.  
 Festus, Sextus Rufus, reference to, 98, 119.  
 Firbolgi, 148, 305, 390.  
 Fitz Gilbert, Raoul, 198.  
 Flaccus, Valerius, 134, 135.  
 Flamborough Head, 121.  
 Flamens and Archflamens of Britain, 198.  
 Flavia, British province of, 13, 14, 23, 44,  
 46, 97-9, 129, 131, 146, 413.  
 Flavius Victor Nobilis, 245.  
 Fleet of the Britons, 4, 335, 413.  
 Florence of Worcester, 248.  
 Florus, 135.  
 Fordun, 167, 169, 247.  
 Forres, 266.  
 Fosseway, 94-6, 126.  
 Frea, supposed altars to, in Denmark, 273.  
 Frederic II, of Prussia, 219.  
 Frisian horse, 332.  
 Frontinus, 13.  
 Frontinus, De Aqueductis, 379.  
 Froxfield, 107.  
 (Lake) Fucinus, naval combat on, 381.  
 Fullofaudes, 25.
- G.
- Gabinius, 378.  
 Gabrosentium, 99.  
 Gadanica, 121.  
 Gaimar, 55, 173, 198, 208, 210, 247, 251,  
 293.  
 Galatum or Galacum, 64.  
 Galba, 303, 308, 378.  
 Gale, references to, 64, 88, 104, 126, 130,  
 139, 158-9, 166, 180, 184, 185, 187, 260,  
 339-40.  
 Galgacus, 257.  
 Gallia Belgica, 133, 297.  
 Gallia Celtica, 283.  
 Gallia Comata, 371.  
 Gallienus, the Roman emperor, 162, 339.  
 Galloway, 78, 80, 257.  
 Gallus, Livius, 194.  
 Gariononum, 24, 100, 103.  
 Gaul, 319.  
 Gawolan, 245.  
 Gonedawg, 242.  
 Genissa, or Genuissa, 228, 232, 322.  
 Genounia, kingdom of, 7, 15-17, 24, 45, 77,  
 120, 146.  
 Gentleman's Magazine, 88, 95, 115, 128,  
 139, 143, 257, 264, 285, 340.  
 Geoffrey ap Arthur, bishop of Llandaff, 197.  
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, bishop of St. Asaph,  
 42, 129, 132, 143, 156, 167-9, 189, 190,  
 194-207, 209-12, 214, 216, 218, 222,  
 228, 230, 237, 249-51, 284-5, 292, 305,  
 309, 322, 341, 354-5, 408-9.  
 Geographici Minores, 112.  
 Geography of Britain, 87-152.  
 (St.) George's Hill Camp, 316.  
 Geraint, 226.  
 Germanicus, 368.  
 Germanicus, father of Claudius, 387.  
 Germanus St., 48, 183, 207.  
 Germanus and Lupus, acts of, 165, 168, 187.  
 Gerontius, 336.  
 Gervaise of Tilbury, 211, 218, 233, 251.  
 Gessoriacum 133-4.  
 Geta (Cneius Hosidius), 311, 320, 327, 363-7,  
 370, 380.  
 Getæ, 398.  
 Getican war, 131, 337.  
 Ghor, 266.  
 Gibbon, the historian, 163.  
 Gibson, 149.  
 Gildas, his History, 165-80, 178, 207, 216.  
 Gildas, Stevenson's edition of, 166.  
 Gildas Albanus, 165, 168, 170, 190.  
 Gildas Badonicus, 166, 168-9.  
 Gildas Cambrius, 167-9.  
 Gildas, references to, 13, 29, 33, 37, 44, 46,  
 62, 64, 67, 75, 77, 83-4, 91, 129, 142,  
 160, 171-6, 179-82, 188-9, 193, 196,  
 198, 245, 286, 289, 301, 404, 406, 408.  
 Gildas, lost History of, 289.  
 Gildas, son of Gawolan, 245.  
 Gildo, 335.  
 Gilcs, Dr., 118, 132, 180, 187, 199.  
 Giraldus Cambrensis, 26, 170, 179, 202, 251,  
 323.  
 Giraldus, Lilius, 168.  
 Girvii, 5, 149.  
 Glamorgan, 196.  
 Glastonbury, 165-6, 169, 179, 404.  
 Glevum, 79, 131, 337.  
 Glisas, 265.  
 Gloucester, Robert of Caen, earl of, 196.  
 Gloucester, 231, 311-12, 320, 322-3.  
 Gloucester, battle of, 311, 323.  
 Glovi, 245.  
 (Caer) Glovi, 245, 312.  
 Glydar mountain, 271.  
 Goltzius, 131, 374.  
 Gordon, 267, 343.  
 Gorfniaw, 225.  
 Gorlais, 245.  
 Goronwy, castle of, 59.  
 Gorwst, 224, 226.  
 Gough, 107, 139, 155, 157, 386, 388.  
 Gozzi, Gauges di, 346-8, 352.  
 Graad, 226.  
 Gradlinus, 245.  
 Gracinus, Cn. Julius, 395.  
 Grafton's Chronicle, 213, 251, 415.  
 Graham, Mrs., her Travels in India, 276.  
 Gramm, Mr., 136.  
 Gratian, his counter attack on the inha-  
 bitants of Britain, 26.  
 Gratian Muniiceps, 26-7.  
 Gregory of Tours, 55.  
 Gregory of Nazianzum, 111.

Griffith ap Cynan, 81, 219.  
 Grose's Antiquities, 267.  
 Gruter's Inscriptions, references to, 92, 155, 303, 363-71, 378-82.  
 Guansch, an Irish historian, 183.  
 Guenhever, 245.  
 Guepponia, 149.  
 Guethelin, bishop of London, 38, 42.  
 Guido de Columna, 116, 234, 237.  
 Guiguillus, 230. *See* Digneillus.  
 Guillog, 245.  
 Guithawl, 244.  
 Guithelinus, British king, 219.  
 Guitolin, 244.  
 Guitolinus, a British chief, 64.  
 Gunn, Mr., 157, 183, 186, 220, 222.  
 Gunn's Nennius, references to, 25, 132, 136, 157, 185, 187, 236, 240.  
 Gunwas, uncertain appellation, 204.  
 Guoidcant, 244.  
 Guoloph, battle of, 64, 284.  
 Guoranogon, ruler of Kent, 86.  
 Guortheu, 245.  
 Guorthigirniawn, 244, 246.  
 Guorthigirn. *See* Vortigern.  
 Gurfyw Dygn, 224.  
 Gurgant Fustrawch, 225.  
 Gurnund, 204.  
 Gwawl (Julia), 235, 242.  
 Gwendolena, mythic British queen, 224, 290.  
 Gwent, 196.  
 Gwentwic, 146.  
 Gweyrydd (Caractacus), 226-7, 305, 410.  
 Gwrthefyr, or Vortipore, 77.  
 Gwydyr (Togodubnus), 205, 226-33, 304, 322, 354.  
 Gwyn ap Nudd, 221.  
 Gwynedd, Owen, the king, 81.  
 Gwynedd, 16, 77, 146, 219, 333.

## H.

Habington, 180.  
 Hadrian, 120, 336, 343.  
 Hamilton, Mr. W. J., 9.  
 Hamo, or Hamon (Vericus), 228-9, 305, 322, 354.  
 Hamper, Mr., 265.  
 Haraldus, Norwegian king, 270.  
 Harding's Chronicle, 198, 213, 251.  
 Harding, John, 198.  
 Hardouin, 374.  
 Harris, Dr., 322.  
 Hassi, the, of Gaul, 134.  
 Hastings, 414.  
 Hatcher, Mr., 122, 137, 139, 144.  
 Havercamp, 321, 366, 380.  
 Hearne, the traveller, 261.  
 Hearne, 119, 211, 213, 219, 251.  
 Heleca, 404.  
 Helena, the empress, 157, 160, 164, 235, 239, 242, 245.  
 Heli, British king, 228-30, 232-3.  
 Hely, Helius, or Beli (*i. e.* Belimawr), 230.

Hengist and Horsa, 47-9, 52.  
 Hengist, 47, 49, 50, 53-4, 59, 61-2, 66, 102, 245.  
 Henley, 313.  
 Henry of Huntingdon's *De Origine*, 208, 223, 251.  
 Henry of Huntingdon, 47, 52, 54, 59, 61, 65-8, 73, 76, 79, 156, 189, 190, 201, 207-9, 213, 219, 228, 236, 247-8, 251, 286, 292, 412.  
 Henry II, king of England, 81, 196.  
 Henry VIII, 415.  
 Herbert, the Hon. Algernon, 183-7, 259.  
 Herennianus, 162.  
 Hergest, Red Book of, 194-6, 250.  
 Hericus, of Auxerre, 183.  
 Hermolaus, 113.  
 Herodes, 162.  
 Herodotus, 277.  
 Hesiod, 260.  
 Hibernia, 84, 117.  
 Higden, Ranulph, 94-6, 156, 213, 229, 251.  
 Higgin's Celtic Druids, 261.  
 High Cross, 125, 126.  
 Hireglas, mythic British prince, 228.  
 Hispania, Citerior, 371.  
 Historical Society, the English, 115, 187.  
 Historical works lost, 113-14, 289-93.  
 Hoare, Sir Richard Colt, 107, 115, 265, 272, 274, 323, 346.  
 Hodgson's Northumberland, 343.  
 Hogg, Mr., 347, 349, 352, 366, 371.  
 Holberg, Professor, 141.  
 Hollingshead's Chronicle, 213, 234, 251.  
 Holy Scriptures, references to, 265-6, 268-9, 277.  
 Holyhead Isle, 143.  
 Homer, 192.  
 Honorius, the emperor, 31, 240, 336.  
 Horace, 8, 219, 237, 396.  
 Hofesti, 131.  
 Horsa, 47, 49, 50.  
 Horsley, references to, 16, 88-9, 92, 101, 104-5, 107-8, 139, 142, 151, 155, 343.  
 Hoveden, Roger, 48.  
 Howel, king of Dumnonia, 81.  
 Hû, Gadarn, 149, 221, 225, 290.  
 Huicci, 146.  
 Humber, the, 104, 118, 130, 145.  
 Hume, the historian, 73, 412.  
 Hunnum, 99, 105.  
 Hunterian Museum, 307.

## I, J.

Iaciudulma (Taciudulma), 104, 108.  
 Iago, 224, 242.  
 Iago ap Beli, 243.  
 James, Mr., the Bodleian librarian, 128.  
 Iccius Portus, 309, 345.  
 Icenii, 2, 9, 10, 13, 14, 90, 93, 131, 147-9, 299, 300, 318, 326, 411-12.  
 Icenii Coritani, 4, 104, 117-18, 131, 136, 148-9, 221, 372-3.

Icenii Magni, or Cenimagni, 4, 13, 104, 146, 147.  
 Icenii, their mines, 411-12.  
 Icenian kingdom, 4, 23.  
 Icania, 139.  
 Idal, Ywrch, 241.  
 Jenkins, 416-17.  
 Jerome, St., 348, 403.  
 Igren, wife of Arthur, 245.  
 Ikening Street, 94-6.  
 Illid, 404.  
 Immanuentius (Temancius), 216, 223.  
 Imperatorships of Claudius for Britain, 329, 360-84.  
 Ingenuus, 162.  
 Ingomar, 206, 298.  
 Inverness, 122.  
 John de Fordun, 86.  
 John of Salisbury, 116.  
 Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 281.  
 Iolo Manuscripts, 258.  
 Jonathan, Targum of, 268.  
 Jornandes, 55-6.  
 Josephus, 339, 366, 378, 380, 381.  
 Josselin, 178, 180.  
 Jovii, a Roman legion or cohort, 341.  
 Ireland, 280.  
 Ireland, its literature, 84, 248, 280.  
 Irish Chronicles, 111, 248.  
 Irish, their expeditions to Britain, 37.  
 Irish Scots, 240.  
 Irish, 239, 243.  
 Isannavaria, 125.  
 Isea Dumnoniorum, 90, 112, 131, 332, 414.  
 Isea Silurum, 90, 91, 99, 123, 125, 131, 332, 334.  
 Isidore, 109.  
 Isurium, 132.  
 Jugantes, 146, 148, 411.  
 Julia Domna, Inscription to, 155.  
 Julia Strata, 123-4.  
 Julian, 318.  
 Juricu, 260.  
 Justin, 144, 296.  
 Juvenal, 325, 348.  
 Ivychurch, 415.

## K.

Kalbion, promontory of, 110-11.  
 Kaxor. *See* Capoir.  
 Kaxho. *See* Caff.  
 Kenting, 84, 248, 280.  
 Kebius, St., 143.  
 Kent, 36, 44, 54.  
 Kentigern, St., 86.  
 Keratik (Caractacus), 295.  
 Keston, 315, 323.  
 Keysler, 92, 270.  
 Kiblas, places towards which to turn in worship, 260, 274.  
 Kidwelly, 415.  
 Kildare, 285.  
 King's Munimenta Antiqua, 88, 275, 281.  
 Kiuric, 65-9.  
 Kistvaena, 271-2, 274.  
 Kitto's Palestine, 256.  
 Koeten Arthur, a cromlech, 272.

## L.

Labienus, 338.  
 Labrovintum, 104.  
 Landevenno, Abbey of, 206.  
 Land's End, the, 122.  
 Langres, battle of, 168.  
 Langtoft, Peter, 198, 251.  
 Lanyon Quoit, 275.  
 Lapis Tituli, battle at, 49.  
 Lappenberg, 114, 141.  
 Lavatres, 100.  
 Layamon, 198, 236, 251.  
 Lea river, 314, 355.  
 Leabhar Breathnach, 182.  
 Lebault, the French historian, 12, 293.  
 Leboeuf, 379.  
 Lecan, the Book of, 182.  
 Lectocetum, 104.  
 Lefelys, 227, 242.  
 Legatus, the title of, 391.  
 Legio II, Augusta, 18, 26, 101, 311, 329, 332, 334-6.  
 Legio VI, Victrix, 18, 23, 26, 28, 99, 100, 334, 336-7.  
 Legio VII, Claudia, 131, 337.  
 Legio VIII, Victrix Hispanica, 38.  
 Legio IX, Hispanica, 338.  
 Legio X, 339.  
 Legio XI, 339.  
 Legio XIV, 339.  
 Legio XX, Valeriana Victrix, 16, 18, 92, 104, 131, 334, 339-42.  
 Legio XXII, Primigenia, 342.  
 Legio Gordiana, 342.  
 Legion sent in the year 421, 29, 34.  
 Legions in Britain, 28, 215, 333, 413.  
 Legions and cohorts, numerical strength of, 22, 102.  
 Legionnes Palatinae, 344.  
 Legionnes Comitatus, 344.  
 Legionnes pseudo-Comitatenses, 344.  
 Leicester, 126.  
 Leland, 117, 191, 211, 203, 231, 368.  
 Lelewel, 110, 295-6.  
 Leman, Mr., 122, 124.  
 Lemanis (Lymne), 100, 104.  
 Lenda, 144.  
 Lexden, 417.  
 Lhuyd, Edward, 142.  
 Lhuyd, Humphrey, 81.  
 Liber Landavensis, 41-2.  
 Lichfield, or Ludashelf, 164.  
 Lienberig, battle of, 79.  
 Lincoln, 47, 73, 96, 126, 148.  
 Lincolnshire, 49.  
 Lindesey, 49.  
 Lindum (Lincoln), 45, 96, 125-6, 131.  
 Lingard, 114.  
 Linus, 393, 400-1.  
 Lipsius, 118.

Literature, Royal Society of, 366.  
 Lîrvy, 113, 144, 294, 351.  
 Lleon, 224.  
 Llefelys, 227. *See* Lefelys.  
 Llew, 245.  
 Lloegria, 289.  
 Llongborth, battle of, 65, 412.  
 Lloyd, Nicholas, 117.  
 Llŷr, Llediaith, 235, 238.  
 Llŷr, or Lear, British king, 224.  
 Locrinus, mythic British king, 224, 290.  
 Lochmaban in Annandale, battle of, 81.  
 Logan, Mr., 225, 256.  
 Logan stones, 267.  
 Lollianus, 162.  
 London, 36, 45-6, 90, 96, 99, 104-5, 130-1, 263, 285-6, 308, 313, 334, 354, 355.  
 London, recovered by the Britons, A.D. 492; 63, 286.  
 Longovicum, 100.  
 Loth, 245.  
 Lowarch Hen, 280.  
 Loxa, 104.  
 Lucan, 134-5.  
 Lucani, 144.  
 Lucian, 302.  
 Lucius Licinius, inscription of, 388.  
 Lucius Verus, Roman emperor, 408-9.  
 Lucius, the British king, 181, 215, 224, 227-8, 229-35, 238-9, 385, 407-10.  
 Ludd, British king, 90, 117, 221, 226-34, 236, 212, 357.  
 Lugubalia (Carlisle), 106, 108, 131.  
 Lukis, Mr., 271-2.  
 Luther's translation of the Scriptures, 268.  
 Lutudarum, 104.  
 Lydd, 414.  
 Lymne, 335, 414.  
 Lyon, Mr., 335.

## M.

Maelgwyn, 224.  
 Maelgwyn Gwynedd, or Maglocune, 44, 241, 248.  
 Macpherson, 188, 192, 281.  
 Macrianus, 162.  
 Macrianus the younger, 162.  
 Madden, Sir F., 198.  
 Madoc, British king, 224, 291.  
 Madoc Min, 291.  
 Madurni Portus, 144.  
 Mæonius, 162.  
 Mæc Beli, battle of, 59, 61, 234.  
 Magæ, 100.  
 Magiovinium, 108.  
 Magister Peditum Occidentis, 97.  
 Maglocune, 301. *See* Maelgwyn Gwynedd.  
 Maglovæ, 100.  
 Magna, 99.  
 Magnus and Sillanus, heralds of Claudius, 322.  
 Maia, 106.  
 Mainus, king of Scotland, 255.  
 Maitland, Mr., 184.  
 Maltra cromlech, 271, 275.  
 Malmesbury, William of, 116, 166, 189, 191, 201-4.  
 Man, Isle of, 254-6.  
 Manapia, 144.  
 Manawydan, 235.  
 Mandubratius (Temancius), 236-7, 216, 223, 298.  
 Manganius, 156.  
 Mannaert, 113.  
 Manning and Bray's Surrey, 316.  
 Manogan, 226-7, 290. *See* Minocan.  
 Mantovion, 144.  
 Manuscripts, ancient, formerly at Verulam, 191-2, 414.  
 Mapes, Walter, 197.  
 Mappa Mundi, at Hereford, 120, 132.  
 Marcian, 112.  
 Marcus, author of Nennius, 31, 51, 84, 132, 182, 186-9, 193.  
 Margam Abbey, 194-5.  
 Marianus Scotus, 207.  
 Maritime states of Britain, 3.  
 Marius, 162.  
 Marius, or Meurig, a British king, 215, 228-34, 238, 410.  
 Marseilles, 110.  
 Marsia, a British queen, 219, 225.  
 Martial, 135, 395, 397-9, 402, 406.  
 Martinelli's Roma Ricercata, 352.  
 Maesic Mount, 396.  
 Matthew of Westminster, references to, 48, 50-1, 55, 61-2, 82, 116, 190, 210, 229, 234, 236, 251, 284, 292, 309, 323, 409.  
 Mauritania (Mortagne), 204.  
 Mauritani or Moors, 363, 380.  
 Mauritanian war, 378, 383.  
 Mauron, a British chieftain, 244.  
 Mawan, 404.  
 Maximian, 163, 300.  
 Maxima Cæsariensis, British province of, 14, 45, 97-9, 129, 131, 413.  
 Maximus (Clemens), 25-7, 30, 33, 240.  
 Mediebarbus, 367.  
 Mediolanum, 104.  
 Mediomannum, 104.  
 Medway, the, 49.  
 Megla, 288. *See* Beda and Megla.  
 Meirchion, 235.  
 Meirion, 235.  
 Meivod, 124.  
 Mela, Pomponius, 104, 128, 253, 277.  
 Melwas (uncertain appellation), 204.  
 Membyr and Mael, 224.  
 Memoires d'un Touriste, 276.  
 (Caer) Menciipit, 131.  
 Menna, 144.  
 Menologies, the Greek, 403-4.  
 Menwæd, 296.  
 Mercia, 79, 80.  
 Mercedeshurne, battle of, 61, 211, 284.  
 Mciriawn, British king, 226.  
 Merddin Wilt, 255.

- Merddin, or Merlin the wizzard, 221-2.  
 Merlin, Prophecies of, 197, 200.  
 Mervin, king of Powisland, 241.  
 Mervin Vyrch, 21.  
 Mervin, 185-6.  
 Meessalina, 364, 370.  
 Metambala, 108.  
 Meuprit, 244.  
 Meurig, British king, 226. *See* Marius.  
 Meurig ap Teudrig, 246.  
 Michaelis, 400.  
 Minocunobelinus (Adminius), 223, 296-7.  
 Minocan, 228, 244, 302. *See* Manogan.  
 Mirmanton (Silchester), 158.  
 Mithridates Boeophoranus, 361, 368, 380, 383.  
 Mithridates, the Iberian, 380.  
 Modur, the title of, 301.  
 Moellmann, Professor, 141.  
 Moesia, 339.  
 Moesia, Upper, 338.  
 Molmutian Laws, 219.  
 Mont St. Michel, Chronicle of, 55.  
 Montfaucon, 260, 276.  
 Montmorillon, Druidical remains at, 276.  
 Monumenta Historica Britannica, 180, 187, 200, 211, 307, 404, 407, 411.  
 Morbio, 100.  
 Mordred, cousin of Arthur, 73, 76, 245.  
 Moreton, earl of Cornwall, 31, 86.  
 Morgan, British king, 225.  
 Moridunum, 91, 112, 414.  
 Morini, the, of Gaul, 309.  
 Moriud, 244.  
 Morris, Mr. Lewis, 143.  
 Mortagne, 204.  
 Morryd, British king, 225.  
 Motte, Mr., 92.  
 Mount Badon, battle of, 59, 62.  
 Muller's Satura Observationum, 260.  
 Muridunum (Caermarthen), 131.  
 Murphy, Mr., 357-8.  
 Murray Frith, 123, 135.  
 Murray's Handbook of Devon, reference to, 83.  
 Musgrave, Dr., 92, 117, 129, 334, 340, 391-2.  
 Myvyrian Archaeology, 157, 194-6, 219, 249, 292.
- N.
- Naitan, supposed name of Ambrosius, 66.  
 Napoleon Buonaparte, 219.  
 Narcissus, 308.  
 Nardini, 347.  
 Nasmith, 127.  
 Nathanleod, 66, 144.  
 Native British States re-established, 25.  
 Nauclerus, the work of, 407.  
 Necham, Alexander, 123-4.  
 Nectaridus, Count of the Saxon shore, 25.  
 Nemetotacio, 108.  
 Nennius, Abbot of Bangor, 180.  
 Nennius, 46, 51, 55, 75, 84, 165, 169, 180-90, 193, 220, 223, 236, 243-4, 246-8, 252.  
 original publication of the History of, 31.  
 references to, 29, 43, 48, 50, 59, 62, 64, 80, 105, 128, 129, 131, 136, 143-4, 146, 149, 157-8, 160, 236, 243-4, 246-8, 252, 284, 290, 292, 407, 409-10, 416.  
 Mr. Gunn's edition of, 64, 220, 222.  
 Mr. Stevenson's edition of, 157, 185, 407.  
 Irish edition of, 31, 33, 64, 182-3, 185-8, 192, 218, 245, 280, 407.  
 Nennius, mythic British prince, otherwise Nynyaw, 167, 227-9, 232-3.  
 Nen estuary, 47.  
 Nen river, 118.  
 Nero, 340, 387-9, 397, 403-4, 411.  
 Newburgh, William of, 197, 199-202.  
 Newburgh parish, Anglesea, 274.  
 Nicephorus, 160.  
 Nicholson's English historical library, 116.  
 Nigg, inscription found at, 123.  
 Ninian, a British bishop, 78.  
 North Wales, 83, 243, 279, 335, 339, 341-4.  
 North Sea, the, 182.  
 Notitia Imperii, 97-102, 105, 108, 133, 146.  
 Novatus, 407-8.  
 Noviomagus, Gerardus, 297.  
 Numismatic Journal, 342.  
 Numismatic Chronicle, 148.  
 Nyniaw, 227. *See* Nennius.
- O.
- Oatlands, supposed site of the winter camp of Aulus Plautius, 316.  
 Oclta and Ebissa, Saxon chiefs, 62, 284.  
 O'Connor's Chronicles of Eri, 295.  
 Odenatus, 162.  
 Odin, the ring of, 257.  
 Offa, king of Mercia, 80, 219.  
 Offa's Dyke, 81.  
 Olenacum, 99.  
 Onna, 108.  
 Onwez, 242.  
 Oracular stones, 268.  
 Ordnance survey, 151.  
 Ordovices, 5, 6, 12, 16, 77, 92-3, 117, 120, 131, 146, 369, 372, 383.  
 Ordovices, inscription relating to, 92.  
 Orfitus, Cornelius, 381.  
 Origen, 253, 273.  
 Orkney Islands, 257, 321-2, 348.  
 Oromansaci, the, of Gaul, 134.  
 Orosius, references to, 9, 13, 172, 174, 207, 223, 296-7, 320-1, 348, 391.  
 Osca river, 123.  
 Ossian, Poems of, 138, 192, 281.  
 Ostidamnii, 110, 111.  
 Osismii, 110, 111.  
 Otho, Roman emperor, 404.

Othona station, 100, 103.  
Ottadani, 150.  
Overton, 123.  
Owain, son of Maximus, 27.  
Owain and Peredur, 226.  
Owain II, 226.  
Owain, the son of Cyllin, 234.  
Owain, the son of Lefelys, 242.  
Owen's Cambrian Biography, 83.

P.

Pace, Richard, secretary to Henry VIII, 414.  
Padarn, 242.  
Pagan idolatry, its origin, 260.  
Pancirolos, references to, 100, 101, 343, 416.  
Panegyric writers, 161.  
Pannonia, 340.  
Panvinus, 362, 364, 369, 371, 381.  
Pareus, 268.  
Paris, Matthew, 125, 415.  
Parisii, the, of Britain, 7, 91.  
Parker, archbishop, 180.  
Parma, 340.  
Paror, 235.  
Parrot river, 90, 325.  
Parsons, Sir Lawrence, 249.  
Pascent, Vortigern's son, 60, 68, 244.  
Patrick, St., 187.  
Paul, 244.  
(St.) Paul, 398-4, 398, 400-6.  
Paulus Diaconus, references to, 41, 46-49, 67, 245, 288.  
Pausanias, references to, 7, 16, 77, 120-1, 146, 265.  
Penrith, 136.  
Penrlyn pedigree, 226, 415.  
Pendragon, the title of, 43, 306, 415-16.  
Pershore, 313.  
Penzance, 271.  
(Caer) Peris, 354-5.  
Perseus, king of Macedonia, 359.  
Petagian heresy, 173.  
Petavius, 182.  
(St.) Peter, 402-3.  
Peter de Blois, 116, 127.  
Peter Pictaviensis, 234.  
Petriana, 99, 106.  
Petriana, inscription at, 92.  
Petrie, Mr., 179, 187-8, 208, 211.  
Peutingen, 113.  
Peutingerian tables, 105, 112-13, 130, 151, 414.  
Philosophical Transactions, 323, 342.  
Phocis, 265.  
Phonicians, the, 191, 224.  
Pictonicum Littus (in Gaul), 135.  
Picts, 47-8, 58, 97, 100, 215, 239, 353.  
Picts, their supposed origin, 18.  
Picts, Scots, and Saxons, 146, 416.  
Pinkerton's description of empires, 256.  
Piranesi, 382.

Pirr, 226.  
Piso, 162.  
Pitseus, 116, 127, 191.  
Pitiscus, 397.  
Plas Heaton, 272.  
Plautius, Aulus, 134, 307, 310, 315, 317, 319, 321-3, 326-9, 331, 333-4, 338, 353, 358, 363, 366-7, 369, 392, 416.  
Plautius, Titus Marcus, 317.  
Plautius Marcus, 317.  
Plautian family, sepulchre of, 317.  
Plautus, 249.  
Pliny, 112, 129, 133, 135, 371.  
Plot, Dr., 88.  
Poitiers, Cromloch near, 276.  
Polemon, 380.  
(Castrum) Polliniacum, 379.  
Pompeii Antiquities of, 416.  
Pompeius Trogus, 114.  
Pomponia Gracina, 392-5, 397.  
Pons Ælii, 99, 105, 108.  
Pontes station, 104, 108, 144.  
Ponticus Virunnius, 167-8, 251, 412.  
Pontes, 337, 398, 400.  
Por, the title of, 301.  
Porrex, 226. See Fervex.  
Port, the Saxon leader, 65, 66.  
Portchester, 309, 315, 333, 354-5.  
Portus Novus (Anderida), 414.  
Portus Magnus (Portchester), 414.  
Posthumus the younger, 162.  
Posthumius, 162.  
Powel, David, 203.  
Powis, the district in Wales, 83.  
Præfectus Prætorio, 97.  
Præsidium, 99, 133, 139.  
Frasutagus, king of the Iceni, 11, 12, 147, 299, 300.  
Praxedes, 408.  
President of Britannia Prima, 97.  
of Britannia Secunda, 97.  
of Flavia Cesariensis, 97.  
Pretty, Mr., 315, 418.  
Price, Sir John, 203.  
Priscilla, 408.  
Procolitia, 99, 105.  
Propertius, reference to, 4.  
Provinces of Britain, 45, 97-8, 103.  
Ptolemy, references to, 2, 7, 64, 78, 88, 91, 105, 108, 115, 117, 120-1, 133, 135, 139, 142, 147-8, 332, 341, 390, 414.  
Ptolemy, contents of his work, 89-91.  
his maps, 90, 328.  
extends Kent to London, 90.  
inscriptions corroborating his divisions, 92.  
Ptoroton, a station in Caledonia, 131.  
Pudena, 386, 392-3, 395-402, 406-8.  
Pudentiana, 408.  
Pudentinus, 386.  
Pughe, Dr. Owen, 165, 241, 246, 258, 277, 296.  
Pytheas, 109-10, 118, 225.  
Pythagoras, 263.

## Q.

Quatuor Chimini, the, 151.  
 Quietus, 162.

## R.

Radnor, 124.  
 Rastall, John, his Chronicle, 213, 251.  
 Rata (Leicester), 104, 131, 148.  
 Ravennas, contents of his work, 102-8.  
 Ravennas, references to, 7, 105-6, 108, 125, 129, 131, 133, 139, 142, 144, 151, 355.  
 Razi's Itinerario de Roma, 317.  
 Record commission, 151-2.  
 Record commission, the French, 206.  
 Rees, Professor, 247.  
 Regellianus, 162.  
 Regni, 2, 12, 65, 136, 326, 333, 391-2.  
     Ambrosius endeavours to relieve them, 61.  
     are conquered by the Saxons, 61.  
     *See* Anderida.  
 Regnum (Chichester), 390.  
 Regulbium (Reculver), 101, 103.  
 Reichard's Guide de Voyageurs, 276.  
 Reimar, 363.  
 Reinesius, 368, 379.  
 Reynold's Commentary on Antoninus, 89.  
 Rhæti, 237.  
 Rheinesches Museum, 115.  
 Rhemi, 136.  
 Rheuda, 129.  
 Rhine, the, 324.  
 Rhiothimus, a British king, 56-7.  
 Rhiwallon, a British king, 168, 224.  
 Rhun, 226.  
 Rhun Baladyr Bras, 224, 243.  
 Rhun ap Iaelgwyn, 44.  
     (Caer) Rhun, 339.  
 Rhydeyern, 226.  
 Rhydderch, 226, 233.  
 Rhyddion, 225, 233.  
 Rhycwain, 242.  
 Rhyfedel, 226.  
 Rhys, son of Gorviniaw, 226.  
 Ribble river, 123.  
 Richard of Cirencester, the apocryphal work of, 89, 97, 98, 114-16, 118-21, 123-7, 129, 131-3, 136-8, 347.  
 Richard of Westminster, 139-40.  
 Richard's Dictionary, 269.  
 Richborough, 334-6.  
 Rickman, 263.  
 Ridumum, 112.  
 Rieux Abbey, 166.  
 Riou, cromlech of, 276.  
 Risingham, inscription at, 155.  
 Ritson's Annals, references to, 66, 78, 81, 86, 129.  
 Roberts, Mr., editor of Tyailio, 168, 171-3, 194-5, 197-9, 203-205, 211, 219, 222, 249, 251, 301, 415.  
 Robinson, Dr., 266.  
 Rock Idols, 267.  
 Roderic the Great, 83, 241, 416.

Rodri Molwynog, 241.

Romans establish vassal kingdoms in Britain, 17.  
     their exactions, 13, 17.  
     sieze the British mines, 17, 411.  
     their forces in Britain, 28, 99-101.  
     the relic of their army withdrawn, 28.  
     send a legion afterwards to succour the Britons, and withdraw it the same year, 29, 31.  
     position of such of them as remained in the island after their forces left, 35.  
 Roman Wall, 19, 23, 37, 99, 100, 105, 334-5.  
 Roman Villas, causes which have tended to the preservation of their ruins, 76.  
 Roman government in Britain, system of, 102, 413.  
 Roman proprætor in Britain, 102.  
 Romans, Epistle to the, 403, 406.  
 Romney, 414.  
 Romulus Augustus, 167.  
 Rooke, Major, 268.  
 Rouse's Chronicle, 39, 42, 57, 133, 212, 231, 251, 409.  
 Rowena, 49, 51, 57.  
 Rowland, 224, 246, 253, 268, 277, 280.  
 Roy, General, 88, 115, 121-24, 339.  
 Royal Society of Literature, 347.  
 Rudborne's Chronicle, 36, 75, 211, 251, 292.  
 Rudge cup, 106-8, 142.  
 Rudge coppice, 107.  
 Rufus Sextus Festus, 98, 119.  
 Rufus, 395.  
 Rusthall common, 267.  
 Rutupium (Richborough), 101, 104, 131, 341.  
 Rutupina Littora, 134.  
 Rye, 414.  
 Rykfield Street, 94.  
 Rymer's Fœdera, 197.

## S.

Sabinella, 408.  
 Sabinus, 338.  
 Sabinus, brother of Vespasian, 311.  
 Sabrina, the Severn, 372.  
 Saint George's hill, supposed equestrian camp there, 316.  
 Saissylyt, 224.  
 Saissylyt II, 225.  
 Saissylyt III, 226.  
 Salabus, 363.  
 Salina, 104-5, 144.  
 Salisbury, 262, 415.  
 Salisbury, convention of, 289.  
 Salisbury, John of, 88, 117, 127, 296.  
 Salisbury, battle of, 69, 76, 263, 288, 415.  
 Salmon, 133.  
 Saludy, 105.  
 Samuel (i. e. Nennius), 184-5.  
 Sandonium, 104.  
 Sarcophagi of the Egyptians, 270.



- Sarlog, 235.  
 Salt ways, 95.  
 Saturninus, 162.  
 Saturninus, a Roman admiral in Britain, 22.  
 Savilla, Sir H., 246.  
 Saul, ben Uchel, 226, 233, 415.  
 Saumur, cromlech near, 276.  
 Saxon pirates, their ravages, 19.  
     probability that their depredations began as early as the reign of Antoninus, 20.  
 Saxons arrive in Britain under Hengest and Horsa, 47.  
     are taken into the service of Vortigern, 47.  
     defeat the Picts, 48.  
     have lands granted them in Lincolnshire and Kent, 49.  
     receive very extensive reinforcements from Germany, 49.  
     commence hostilities with the Britons, 49.  
     make an alliance with the Picts against the Britons, 58.  
     their first battles with the Britons, 49.  
     are believed by many to have been driven out of the kingdom, 49.  
     (See *Belgio Chronicles*.)  
     are again in Britain about the year 464, 57.  
     gain a great battle, 58.  
     become fully established in Kent and Sussex, 61, &c. &c. &c.  
     are checked by Aurelius Ambrosius, and by Uther Pendragon, Arthur, and other British kings, 61-2, 68, 70-1, 76-7.  
     drive the Britons into Wales and Cornwall, 79.  
 Saxons and Picts, 45.  
 Saxons are aided from the north of Germany and by the Danes and Scandinavians in their contests with the Britons, 74.  
 Saxons attack in dense masses, and confuse the Roman tactics of the Britons, 70, 74.  
 Saxon shore in Britain, remarks respecting, 27, 100.  
 Saxon shore in Belgium, 100.  
 Saxon Chronicle, references to, 51, 55, 58, 61, 65-8, 76, 190, 208, 213, 247-8, 284-5, 292-3, 355, 409.  
 Saxon Chronicle, its origin, 55, 247, 293.  
 Saxons, 42, 48-9, 51, 53, 57-8, 61, 102, 215, 239, 412.  
 Saxons came to Britain from Holstein and parts of Germany north of the Rhine, 74.  
 Saxons, specimen in Sussex of the Roman system of defence against them, 22.  
 Saxon shore, the count of, 341, 413.  
 Sœwa (Cyman), 228-9.  
 Scaliger, 109, 324.  
 (Ostorius) Scapula, 326, 328, 353, 369-73, 383, 389.  
 (De) Scheyb, 130.  
 Scilly Islands, 109, 130.  
 Scipio (Publius), 359.  
 Scoto-Brigantes, 123.  
 Scots, Picts, and Attacotti, 25.  
 Scots, 229, 353.  
 Scots and Picts, 36-7, 39-42, 48.  
 Scotch Chronicles, 36.  
 Scotland, 123.  
 Scribonianus, 363.  
 Scrivener, 297.  
 Scyphax, 359.  
 Segedunum, 99, 105, 144.  
 Segont (near Carnarvon), 94.  
 Segontiaci, 2, 131, 136, 147, 153-61, 326.  
 Segontium, plan of, 164.  
 Segontium (near Carnarvon), 104, 123, 131.  
 Segontium (Silchester), 153, 156, 158, 164.  
 Selden, 374.  
 Seneca, 13, 109, 123, 313.  
 (Cneius) Sentius, 307, 327.  
 Sere (Pirr), 233.  
 Serpent, the worship of the, 261.  
 Severia (Wiltshire, or its capital, Salisbury), 117.  
 Severn, 11, 104, 118, 123, 146, 182, 311-12, 363.  
 Severus, 215, 343.  
 Sextus, king of Ireland, 165, 169.  
 Shaw's Travels, 124, 335.  
 Short's Collectanea Curiosa Dumnonia, 332.  
 Sidorius Apollonaris, 55-7.  
 Silas, 401.  
 Silgnius, 226.  
 Silbury hill, 262-3.  
 Silchester, 36, 39, 64, 72-3, 79, 125, 153, 164.  
 Silures (South Welch), 2, 11, 13, 17, 24, 90-1, 93, 130, 131, 146-7, 150, 299, 310, 312, 325-6, 328, 331, 350, 369, 373, 383.  
 Silurum Insulae, 130.  
 Simeon of Durham, 80-1.  
 Simon Zelotes, 402-3.  
 Smith, Mr. C. R., 342.  
 (Mr. C. R.) Smith's Collectanea Antiqua, 93, 335, 341, 343, 418.  
 Smith's Dictionary, 86.  
 Smyth, Capt., 360, 362-3.  
 Snorro, 270.  
 Solinus, 108-9, 128-30.  
 Solomon, king of Armorica, 243, 245.  
 Somner, 88.  
 Sordidunum, 106, 131, 158.  
 Southampton, 134.  
 Southampton water, 288.  
 Spartan, the Roman historian, 113, 277.  
 Spon, 260, 368, 379.  
 Sprott, John, his Chronicle, 211, 231, 236, 251.  
 Squier and Davies, 264.  
 Stackhouse, 267.  
 Stamford, 47.  
 Standand stones, 256.

- Stanton Drew, 259, 264, 282.  
 Stanton in the Isle of Man, 254.  
 Statute Rolls of William the Conqueror, 95.  
 Stella Silvanus, inscription of, 317.  
 Stephanus Byzantinus de Urbibus, 93, 113.  
 Stephen, king of England, 197.  
 Stevenson, 144, 157, 166, 180, 186-8, 407.  
 Stilicho, 131, 240, 335, 337.  
 Stillingfleet, 260, 392.  
 Stonehenge, 64, 252, 255, 268, 282-9.  
     royal cemetery at, 47.  
     massacre at, 58, 284-5, 287.  
 Stones of memorial, 265.  
 Stowe's Chronicle, 213, 251.  
 Strabo's Geography, references to, 8, 10,  
     109-11, 224, 237, 253.  
 Stratford, 125.  
 Strath-ar-Clwyd (Dunbarton), 78.  
 Strathclyd, 80-1, 86, 166.  
 Strathclyd Britons, 78, 80-1, 85, 165.  
 Streatley on the Thames, 125.  
 Strutt's Chronicle, 213, 251.  
 Stukeley, 88, 119, 123-4, 127, 136-9, 151,  
     159, 265, 278, 281, 307.  
 Suesiones, a people of Gaul, 117.  
 Suetonius, references to, 4, 9, 11, 120, 174,  
     223, 229, 296-7, 303-4, 308, 316, 326-7,  
     345, 351-2; 357, 360-4, 366, 368, 370,  
     378, 418.  
 Suetonius Paulinus, 361, 363, 380.  
 Suh-Minerva, temple of, at Bath, 318.  
 Sulim, the Danish historian, 114, 141.  
 Suidas, 260.  
 Sussex coast, expedition fitted out against,  
     in the north of Germany, by the Saxons, 59.
- T.
- Tables of the sun, 276-7.  
 Taboo, the custom of, 254.  
 Tabor, Dr., 323.  
 Taciodulma (Tasciodulma), 104, 108.  
 Tacitus, references to, 2, 5-7, 10-14, 17, 20,  
     109, 113, 117-18, 120, 130-1, 144, 146-7,  
     163, 215, 223, 299, 306, 309, 317, 324,  
     327-9, 331, 333, 339, 341, 348, 350, 356-7,  
     359, 364, 366, 369-74, 381, 389-93, 395,  
     411.  
 Taliesin, 86, 220, 271, 281.  
 Tamaris, 108.  
 Tamesis (station), 104, 125.  
 Tamissa, 108.  
 Tammonius, inscription of, 155.  
 Tascio, the title of, 301-2.  
 Tegfan, 226.  
 Tegid, 242.  
 Temancius (Mandubratius), 226, 228-32,  
     236-7, 298, 357.  
 Tenuantius (Temancius), 228-9, 233.  
 Teneuvan (Temancius), 205, 227, 238.  
 Terence, 399.  
 Tertius, 401.  
 Tetrici, the, 163.  
 Tetriciani, the cohort so called, 163.  
 Tetricus, 162-3.  
 Tetricus, the younger, 162.  
 Tewksbury, 313.  
 Thamea, 104, 130, 146, 153, 156, 182, 308,  
     310-11, 313, 319, 321-323.  
 Thanet, isle of, 49, 51, 53.  
 Theobald, archbishop, 209.  
 Theodoret, 403.  
 Theodosia, 131.  
 Theodosius the Great, 26, 98, 119, 335,  
     341, 343.  
 Theomantius, or Themantius, 230, 234.  
     *See* Temancius.  
 Thevesten, 124.  
 Thomson, Aaron, 199, 212.  
 Thuringians, 58.  
 Tiberius, Roman emperor, 174, 309, 360-1,  
     387, 405-6.  
 Tibia, 124.  
 Tibiawn, 240.  
 Tidertia, 144.  
 Timan, 8, 9.  
 Timolaus, 162.  
 Timotheus, 407-9.  
 Timothy, the Epistle to, 393, 400-402.  
 Tinwald Mount, in the Isle of Man, 256.  
 Titular names of the Britons, 294-302.  
 Todd, Dr., 182, 186.  
 Togirix, 295.  
 Togodubnus, 147, 205, 216, 223, 299, 304,  
     308-10, 314-15, 322, 354, 363.  
 Tomline, bishop, 400.  
 Torbolton, barony of, 256.  
 Torigny, or Delmonte, the work of, 208.  
 Tormace (Temancius), 205.  
 Totness, 59, 333.  
 Toxandri, 133.  
 Trajan, 126, 404.  
 Trajectus, 108.  
 Trebellianus, 162.  
 Treryn castle, 267.  
 Treves, 161.  
 Triads, 41, 57, 149, 235, 238, 245, 287, 290-  
     93, 297.  
 Triads, the additional, 287, 289.  
 Tribunitia Potestas, remarks upon, 360.  
 Trimontium, 121-2.  
 Trinobantes, 1, 9, 10, 89, 131, 145, 147,  
     304, 312, 326-7, 411.  
 Trinobantine-Cassian kingdom, 2, 10.  
 Tripontium, 125, 144.  
 Trivona, 113, 124.  
 Trojan myth of the Britons, 204, 208, 219-  
     221, 290.  
 Tudbroyl, 226.  
 Tudbir, 244.  
 Tunbridge Wells, 267.  
 Tunnoceum, 99.  
 Turin, 340.  
 Turin inscription, 338.  
 (Du) Tus, kistvaen of, 272.  
 Twine, 202-3.  
 Tyrants, the Thirty, 162.

Tysilio's Chronicle, 15, 44, 49, 50, 61, 64, 68, 79, 81, 84, 90, 143, 148-9, 160, 167-8, 171-2, 190, 194-6, 199, 203, 205, 211-12, 214, 216, 218-20, 223-5, 227, 236, 238-9, 241, 249-51, 284, 287, 290-2, 295, 301, 305, 341, 353-5, 409-10.

Tysilio ap Brochvael, 196.

U.

Ubbo Emmius, 273.

Uchtryd, 196.

Uigantes, 411.

Uriconium, 104, 123, 126, 132.

Urien, 226.

Ushant, 110, 111.

Usher's Primordia, 166, 179, 213, 240, 392, 404, 407-8.

Uther Pendragon, 12, 43, 65, 68, 70, 171, 245, 247, 279, 291, 416.

Uxeludianum, 106.

Uxisama, 110-11.

V.

Vacomagi, 131.

Vaillant, 130-1, 371.

Valens, superior, 162.

Valens, Manlius, 373.

Valens, 162.

Valentia, British province of, 45, 97-8, 104, 122, 129, 131, 335, 413.

Valentinian, 98, 335, 341, 343, 413.

Valius, Julius, inscription of, 341.

Varis, 144.

Vecta (the Isle of Wight), 177.

Vellabori, 144.

Velleius Paterculus, 107.

Vellocatus, 392.

Velser, 113.

Venedotia (North Wales), 16, 35, 77, 146, 157, 246.

Venta Belgarum, 131, 143, 159, 413.

Venusius, 148, 372.

Venta Icenorum, 104, 131, 143.

Venta Silurum, 131, 143.

Veratinum, 104.

Veroenia, 144.

Vercingetorix, 217, 295.

Veroobret, office of, 294.

Verdotalia, 144.

Vergil, Polydore, 40, 178, 203.

Vericus, 9, 10, 305-6, 315, 318, 322, 326, 354, 417-18.

Verstegan, 47, 49-51, 58.

Verteris, 100.

Verulam, 68, 191-2, 263, 312, 358, 364, 414-15.

Verulamium, 46, 104, 131.

Vespasian, 119-20, 131, 134, 311, 318, 320, 325-30, 333, 365-7, 369, 404.

Vespasiana province, as in the work of Richard of Cirencester, 98, 117, 129.

Via Badonica, 263.

Via Devana, 95.

Vicarius Britanniarum, 97, 413.

Victor, Aurelius, 322.

Victores, a Roman legion or cohort, 341.

Victoria, 131.

Victorina, or Victoria, 162.

Victorinus, 30.

Victorinus, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 162.

Victorinus the younger, 162.

Villa Faustini, 158.

Villa Giustiniani, inscription of, 260.

Vindelici, 237.

Vindini, 158.

Vindobala, 99, 106.

Vindolana, 99, 106.

Vindomum (Silchester), 46, 90, 99, 104, 108, 125, 131, 156, 158-60, 164.

Vindonissa, 159-60, 163-4.

Vindonum, 164.

Virgil, 145.

(Ponticus) Virunnius, 167-8, 251, 412.

Visigoths, 56.

Vitalis, Simatius, inscription of, 93.

Vitalis, Julius, inscription of, 92, 340.

Vitellius, Lucius, 316, 322, 366-7, 380.

Vitellius, Aulus, Roman emperor, 316, 404.

Vitringa, 260.

Vortigern, 42-4, 46-7, 49, 57-60, 64, 73, 215, 240-1, 245-6, 416.

Vortimer, 49-53, 55-7, 210, 241, 285.

Vortipore, 44, 77, 241.

Vossius, 115, 260.

Vyddaw (Caer Vyddaw), 64.

W.

Wace, the poet, 198, 251.

Walcoot, 340.

Wales, South, 91, 146.

Wales, North, 35, 77, 83.

Wales, 42, 82, 86-7, 130.

Wallia, 86.

Wallingford (Callewa), 299.

Waltham, 314, 355.

Walthamstow, 314-15.

Walton, 267.

Wantsum, battle of, 49.

Warburton's map of Yorkshire, 123.

Warburton's Legation of Moses, 260.

Ward's MS. Notes on Horeley, 16, 155.

Warrington's History of Wales, 81, 84, 241.

Warsaw, 320.

Warwick, 73, 231.

Washingborough, the book of, 293.

Watling street, the, 94-96, 126, 151, 323.

Wayland Smith, 270.

Weedon, 125.

Wellbeloved's Eburacum, 45.

Welsh derivations, 143.

Wendover, Roger de, his Chronicle, 211, 251.

Werlauff, royal librarian at Copenhagen, 140.

- Westin (Marius), or otherwise Westmer, 232.  
 Westmer (Marius), 206.  
 Wex, Mr., 115, 126, 138.  
 Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, 75, 179, 211.  
 Whalley castle, 64.  
 Whitaker, 115, 203.  
 White, John, 202.  
 Whitherne, 78.  
 Whittichind, 87, 119.  
 Widmore, 118.  
 Wigan, Mr., 296.  
 Wight, Isle of, 69, 111, 288, 326, 366.  
 Wightgar, nephew to Cerdic, 68.  
 Wigtown, 78.  
 Williams, the Rev. Robt., 165, 178, 297.  
 William the Conqueror, 81, 86, 291.  
 Williams, Mr. of Llandovery, 289, 292.  
 Williams's Snowdon Mountains, 82.  
 Winchester, the Book of (the Saxon Chronicle), 293.  
 Winchester taken by the Saxons, 285.  
     taken by the Romans, 333.  
     clothing manufactory there, 413.  
 Wipped, 54.  
 Wippedfleet, battle of, 54, 58.  
 Wire river, 123.  
 Wise, Mr., 270.  
 Withamstead, John of, 202.  
 Wledig, the British title, 66.  
 Wlencing, a Saxon leader, 59.  
 Woden, 273.  
 Wokely Hole, 368.  
 Wood's History of Bath, 259, 264.  
 Wood's Isle of Man, 254, 256.  
 Works, ancient, lost, relating to Britain, 113, 128, 173, 206, 289.  
 Wormius, 270, 272-3.  
 Worsace, Professor, 140.  
 Wright's Travels, 260, 276, 346-7.  
 Wright, Mr., 251.  
 Wynne's History of Wales, 81, 85.

## X.

Xiphilinus, 4, 13, 14, 237-8, 348, 370, 399, 411.

## Y.

Ymmerodr, the Armorican title of, 301.  
 York, 113, 161, 334, 336, 339.  
 Ysbwyth, 235.  
 Ystraual, 235.

## Z.

Zealand, 273.  
 Zenobia, 162.  
 Zerdotalia, 144.  
 Zonaras, 316, 321.  
 Zosimus, 336.

## CORRIGENDA.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| PA. L.   | PA. L.   |
| 21, 84, for cohort fleet, read cohort and fleet. | 251, 36, for Sir John Baker, read Sir Richard Baker. |
| 22, 30, for whence, read which.                  | 296, 41, for Aeddar, read Aeddán.                    |
| 97, 88, for præsentialis, read præsentalis.      | 305, 32, for ths, read the.                          |
| 144, 38, for pastimes, read pastures.            | 306, at the top, for BOOK VI, read BOOK IV.          |
| 162, 20, for Galienus, read Gallienus.           | 310, 20, for Cætuellani read the Catnellani.         |
| 179, 9, for admonitor read admonition.           | 312, 1, for Claudiscestrum, read Claudio-castrum.    |
| 183, 7, for them, read their.                    | 319, at the top, for 219, read 319.                  |
| 188, 32, for Derring, read Dering.               | 244, 19, for Uhter Pendragon, read Uther Pendragon.  |
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